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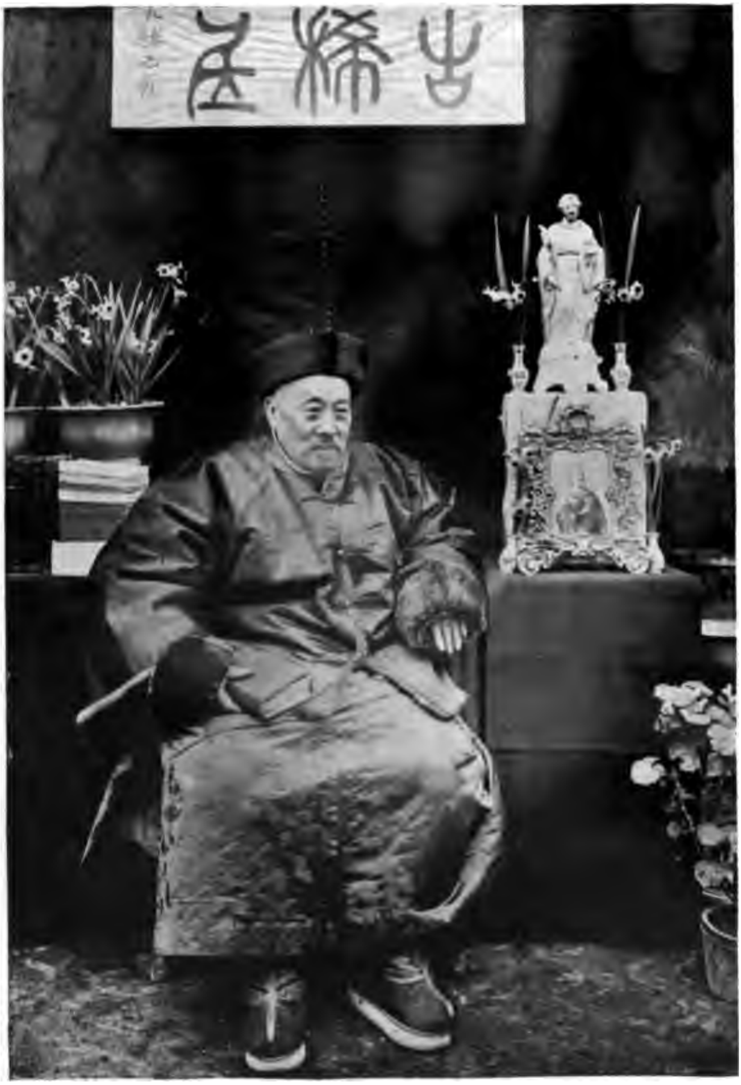

Father Hwang, secular priest (affiliated to the Jesuits) at Nanking, a distinguished and profound theological scholar. The antique characters signify "ancient few dwelling," *i.e.* "the septuagenarian's abode," because "from ancient times but few" have reached that age. The date in the corner is equivalent to 1899.

[*Frontispiece.*

CHINA AND RELIGION

BY EDWARD HARPER PARKER, M.A. (MANC.)
PROFESSOR OF CHINESE AT THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY,
MANCHESTER.

AUTHOR OF "CHINA," "JOHN CHINAMAN," "CHINA, PAST AND PRESENT," ETC.

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
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TO

REV. A. COLOMBEL, S.J.

(SHANGHAI).

My affectionate old friend died at Shanghai on the 27th June, almost as I wrote these lines.

E. H. P.

NOCTURNA INGEMISCENTIS ANIMAE MEDITATIO.

Fatalis ruit hora, Leo, jam tempus abire est,
  Pro meritisque viam carpere perpetuam,
Quae te sors maneat? Coelum sperare jubebant
  Largus contulerat quae tibi dona Deus;
At summas claves, immenso pondere munus
  Tot tibi gestum annos—haec meditare gemens.
Qui namque in populis excelso praestat honore,
  Hei misero! poenas acrius inde luet.
Haec inter trepido dulcis succurrit imago
  Dulcior atque animo vox sonat alloquii:
Quid te tanta premit formido? aevique peracti
  Quid seriem repetens tristia corde foves?
Christus adest miserans, humili veniamque roganti
  Erratum—ah! fidas—eluet omne tibi.

—(*Death-bed of Pope Leo XIII*).

PREFACE

I MUST apologise for a certain irregularity in the spelling of Indian, Persian, Arabic, and other foreign words. For instance, "Canouge" instead of "Kanūj," and doubtless many others in the same category. Not knowing any West Asian language, I take the spelling which occurs in the best books I have consulted, some of which are more "up to date" than others; or I adopt the "usual" spelling. I have at least tried to be consistent in my irregularity; and, after all, in a book on Religion, scientific spelling is not of the essence. In Chinese words, of course, I profess to be right according to my own ideas of what is right; though even here I occasionally use well-known or "popular" forms.

E. H. PARKER.

18 GAMBIER TERRACE,
LIVERPOOL, 29*th June* 1905.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

In giving a list of "authorities" which may be usefully consulted, I do not profess to have drawn up a complete list, or to have always accepted any one as an authority myself, where I have found it possible to go further back. The ultimate or most remote authority is, of course, always the best. For instance, in the case of Taoism, the Chinese authors are absolutely the sole original authorities, and the translators and opinionists can at best have but secondary value; in this particular instance, I chiefly recognise as possessing sterling collateral value the opinions of M. Chavannes, as given in his masterly introduction to the *Shï-ki* (*Mémoires Historiques*) of Sz-ma Ts'ien; and to a certain extent also the opinions of the late Mr Faber, as published in various numbers of the *China Review*; because they two alone appear to me to have conscientiously, and with full competence, examined all the Chinese originals they could get hold of in an unbiassed spirit. I regard M. Chavannes as the soundest and most industrious of living sinologists. The religious works of the venerable Paul Hwang (now approaching his 80th year) are very profound, and of course no European can pretend to his wide capacity for research; but then he is a priest, and can only publish what his masters, the Jesuits, approve; still, he appears to me to be a man of wonderfully clear and honest views, nor have I ever discovered any hiding away of the truth in his writings. In the same way Dr Legge, whose knowledge of the Chinese classics was unequalled, had always to approach the subject of religion as a missionary, and no doubt as a convinced one; hence his "detachment" was not complete. No one has done greater general service to sinology, including, indirectly, religious sinology, than the late Dr Bretschneider; but (as he frequently told me himself) he was largely inspired by Palladius, a student of original texts of vast and retentive memory; and over and over again he honestly repudiated the "charge" of being a first-hand sinologist. It does not, however, appear to me to matter much whether a man is a blacksmith or a sinologist, so long as he discovers the means and possesses the aptitude for forming and expressing sound opinions on accepted facts, supported by all available evidence; and, after all, "sinologists" are only those European students who have gone a certain modest distance—very modest—in the direction of consulting Chinese literature without native aid. I am one of these, but I often feel that I have not gone so far as I might have gone, and that even a long life will not enable any of us to go very far with present appliances. But these appliances are being added to every day, and each successive generation will find that the clearances made in the jungle of neglected literature by his predecessors do materially shorten his labours.

E. H. PARKER.

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CHINA AND RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

THIS is an attempt to present to the general reader, in comparatively simple sketch form, the whole history of the religious question as it has affected the Chinese mind. When I say that I have throughout avoided (so far as it is possible) the use of all personal or proper names, and the mention of all authorities, it will be understood that the reason why I do so is that it would be impossible to be even moderately simple and readable, if the pages were too thickly interspersed with unfamiliar, and therefore to most persons uncouth foreign words. There is so small a demand for things Chinese of an abstract nature in Great Britain, that I have long since found my stock-in-trade a drug upon the market, and I have had to get many of the papers bound up in manuscript for the convenience of my own reference. But if curious enquirers would rather see authorities cited for occasional passages lacking the impress of authenticity, they have only to refer to the published articles on Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Roman Catholicism, etc. —all named and described directly after the preface—to find cited as many original authorities as they may desire, and to satisfy themselves that I am not unduly shirking the exhibition of evidence.

China enjoys a unique position in the history of religious thought, in that she possesses an unbroken religious record of at least 3000 years, without counting the semi-historical and legendary periods of tradition, anterior to the time when fleeting thought was first committed to intelligible literature. Moreover, samples of all the Western religions have been presented to her in turn, and she has thus had unrivalled opportunities of making discriminating selections. It is surely very much to China's credit that at no period of her history have the ruling powers "in being" ever for one instant refused hospitality and consideration to any religion recommended to them as such. If there has been hostility, it has always sprung up from political and economical causes; thus pure uncompromising Taoism, which from its inception to this day has steadily been a strong intellectual and moral force in educated China, soon proved too independent and democratic for the immediate purposes of imperial ambition and family interest: hence Confucianism, with its obsequious recognition of "divine right" in rulers, gradually undermined by ridicule, and thus favoured the religious corruption and the superstitious popularisation of the older and grander scheme of thought. But it must never be forgotten that pure Taoism and Confucianism were both based on, and thus were merely different interpretations of exactly the same original texts. Both failed to arrest the degeneration and decay of their time. Buddhism, in consequence, was heartily welcomed, with its entirely new conceptions of soul transmigration, a Messiah, spiritual rewards and punishments, sin, humility, and self-denial. But political intrigue and priestly corruption quickly crept in, in such wise that conservative Confucianism found ready opportunities to check the progress of this fresh foreign layer of thought—at least in the higher grades of society. As China extended her influence in Western Asia, and later on yielded, step by step, to Tartar incursions, or was more and more subjected to direct Tartar rule, the Tartar religions—in many respects resembling the Chinese semi-historical beliefs—began to compete with Buddhism for a place in the State machinery; and thus the Persian religions also found a footing, the horse-riding races of Turkish blood always acting as conduits for the exchange between Western and Eastern thought. Filtering into China through the country which first gave Buddhism to the Far East, and borrowing Buddhist terms in order to give adequate expression to their unfamiliar tenets, these religions were not unnaturally viewed by the Chinese as mere "outer roads," or schismatical forms of Buddhism.

Brahmanism was also included in this "heretical" group. And as the ever-changing border-land between known Persia and the Roman Empire of hearsay was very vague; as the first Christians who came to China were all either Syrians or Persians; and as the Chinese had never had the least conception of the white and pink light-haired race stocks of Northern and Western Europe, it was quite a pardonable mistake on their part to consider the earliest Nestorians, who in any case had to pass through Persia, to be Persians pure and simple. Nor must we forget that we "Christian people" or "Franks" of Western Europe are just as far topographically and ethnologically removed from Syria, and have therefore as little racial claim to be styled Christians by soil birthright, as then had, and now have, the nearest Chinese dwelling on the remote eastern flanks of the Persian political world. It is therefore difficult to deny to the Chinese and Japanese Emperors of to-day, if they officially adopt Christianity, the right claimed by the rulers of Russia and Great Britain to appoint Christian bishops, and to constitute themselves heads of their own Christian Church. The Chinese soon discovered their error about Persia, when in the seventh century the Turks brought first news of the Franks, and having found out that the Syrian Nestorians and the Persian Manicheans were sent from different countries, they extended equal hospitality to both; but both continued to bear within them the hereditary taint of Buddhism; and so when Buddhism again fell into disfavour through priestly immorality, cupidity, and corruption, the Syrian and Persian religions fell too, and for want of new importations of Western blood scarcely ever raised their heads in China again. Mazdéism never had much chance in China, having disappeared even from Persia with the Mussulman conquests; 90,000 Parsees, mostly in Bombay, are the sole remnants of it now existing.

For some reason which has not yet been made quite apparent, the Mussulmans, who were so militant and aggressive elsewhere, and who (as Abbasside Arabs) repeatedly fought, both for and against China, during the Tibetan wars of 757-801 in Kan Suh and Yün Nan, seem never to have pressed in the least degree their claims to religious recognition, not to say rights of proselytism in China; and yet their belief percolated imperceptibly throughout the Chinese Empire, and was largely accepted without political friction by the trading classes: what is wanted, however, is the date when each region was first inoculated. Particularly remarkable is the fact that at no period whatever in Chinese history, up to the time of the Manchu conquest of Kashgaria 150 years ago, is there the slightest mention of Mussulman religious trouble. Even in Kublai Khan's time, when Mussulman gunners managed the artillery, and Mussulman usurers farmed the taxation, we hear absolutely nothing of Mussulman religious disputes. For three centuries after that the word Mussulman scarcely occurs in history, except in connection with Tamurlane, Arabia, Bishpalik, Hami, and Turfan; it is indeed once stated that Kan Suh province contained many Mussulmans imported in Mongol times. Notwithstanding the numerous Mussulman rebellions which have grown out of the occupation of Kashgaria in 1760, and out of the infiltration of aggressive Islam into Yün Nan, there is no religious animosity felt in China against Mussulmans; a Mussulman may be a viceroy or a generalissimo, and over and over again within the past two generations the emperors have said in their official decrees: "Make no distinction between lay-Chinese and Chinese Mussulmans. I don't care what their belief is; I only ask 'are they good subjects?' I would as soon have a good Mussulman as a bad Chinese—much sooner indeed." The history of the Jews, who have always been regarded as a strange, "sinew-plucking," schismatic group of Mussulmans, adds nothing to the principle advanced — that the Chinese Government has always been one of the broadest-minded and the most liberally inclined towards pure religion; that it has never persecuted to the merciless and cruel extent once so common all over Europe; and that when it has seemed to persecute at all, it has really only defended what it honestly believed to be its own political rights: it has never encouraged religious spite, mental tyranny, or the stifling of any free opinion that keeps clear of State policy, scandal, or libel.

European Christianity obtained three centuries ago a reception as generous as the earlier foreign religions had met with; there was no trace of sanctioned persecution until personal interests, official appointments, and political questions came to the fore. When Dominicans and Franciscans abused Jesuits, ambitious princes intrigued with priests, and Popes set about tilting with a literary emperor on purely classical and logomachical grounds, the Chinese Government may be excused for having bundled the whole troublesome priestly body out of China two centuries after their introduction; or, if not excused, its conduct may be palliated; if not, why did the Pope himself abolish the Society of Jesus? And as regards the Protestants of our day, if they can only go about their charitable business without sneering at the Catholics; refrain from harshly criticising subjects dear to Chinese prejudice; and not allow themselves to be made tools of by mercenary natives, there is no apparent reason why they should not for ever enjoy the toleration which the Chinese have always been disposed to extend to religion *quâ* religion. The same remarks of course apply to the Roman Catholics of the nineteenth century up to the present time, and to their behaviour towards Protestants. There are no countries where the Romanists enjoy fuller liberties than in Protestant England and America; and yet the title "Lord Bishop," which they are beginning to use in England, seems an imprudent and worldly arrogation; for it would be absurd in America, and in any case only refers to the British House of Lords, in which Catholic bishops have no seat.

We have only to look around us in our own much vaunted civilised home of Europe (in which for this purpose I include its intellectual annex America) to see how much, despite misunderstandings, we owe to the careless if not generous toleration of the Chinese, upon whom it must be remembered, we have imposed by force of arms our so-called religious "rights." First we have Russia, with her Armenians, Jews, Stundists, Old Believers, Lutherans, Polish Catholics, etc., etc. This is not the place to criticise anything that the Czar may be advised to do for the supposed good of his State. But, if we put it another way, suppose the 2500 missionaries of innumerable Protestant sects now in China applied for passports to go about the same work in Russia, what would be their reception? How would their rights compare with those they enjoy in China? Next we have Russia's ally and our own excellent friend, "most Christian" France. What is the position at home of the Jesuits, Missions Etrangères, Lazarists, and other powerful agglomerations at this moment, enjoying as they do, "button" rank on the footing of regularly commissioned mandarins in China? The anointed ruler of Italy is regarded as a pariah by the Vicar of Christ, who nevertheless enjoys his efficient protection. His Apostolic Majesty of Austro-Hungary is liable to excommunication if he visits his royal friend in Rome; and his Most Faithful Majesty of Portugal is liable to the same penalty if he visits his kingly relative there. His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain is presumably in the same predicament. The recent action of the Bishop of Barcelona, touching Protestants, shows the measure of toleration approved in Spain. Prince Bismarck (a term then synonymous with Germany) was quite ready to apply force to constrain Rome until he found that he was not strong enough to do so effectually. The Sultan of Turkey and his kindness to Germany in the Holy Land; the moves of Germany at the last Papal election; the protection of "Mussulman principles" in Morocco; the seizure of Kiao Chou; the meeting of the bishops and the Emperor at Metz—all these and other episodes of a kind furnish an object lesson, and suggest reasons why China is so anxious not to be again turned on the flanks by some mysterious political compulsion advancing under ostensibly religious banners. It is significant that after 3000 years of religious competition in the Far East the old Chinese Shintō should find renewed favour in Japan, and should have produced moral qualities nobler than any Christian power can show at this moment.

Another point that commands attention in the survey of China's religious experiences is the important but unobtrusive historical position occupied by pure Taoism. A work of the fourth century entitled, "How Lao-tsz converted the Hu [Tartars and Hindoos] and became Buddha" excited at the outset much indignation, and more especially amongst the seventh century Buddhists; for there was then and still is a persistent secular tradition in China, Khoten, and elsewhere that when Lao-tsz disappeared towards the West about B.C. 500, either he or his Taoist friend, the keeper of the frontier pass, had really later on reappeared in the shape of Buddha: it is probable, but so far as I am aware not certain, that this story was started by the degenerate and corrupt Taoists, as described in the body of this work, a century or two after the introduction of Buddhism: they did so in order to keep their hold on the people; for they had already borrowed much from the literature and liturgy of Buddhism, and naturally after a period of neglect found it *bonne guerre* to "dish" their rivals at a time when half a dozen religions were competing for imperial favour, and when a new dynasty bearing the same family name as Lao-tsz recognised him as an ancestor. But political works and priestly frauds of this kind, which were given their final death-blow at the religious "tourneys," held by Mangu and Kublai Khans in the thirteenth century, have nothing to do with the pure Taoism of Lao-tsz, which continues to leaven the best Chinese and

Japanese intellect much in the same way that Plato's "pagan" philosophy lightens up and leavens educated Christian thought. The pure Taoism of the *Tao-têh King* is as much quoted in every age of Chinese history, officialdom, and poetry as Shakespeare is quoted in the literature and speech of modern England; and though, officially, Confucianism is the orthodox official belief, it is Taoism, or, rather, the ancient natural religion as interpreted and expressed by Lao-tsz, which really forms the character of the gentleman philosopher in China. The impassiveness, stoicism, democratic feeling, contempt for profuse luxury and vulgar show, patience, humility, calmness, deliberation, aversion from imperial puffery, boastfulness, and military glory which characterise the best Chinese minds are Shintō-Taoist rather than Confucian in spirit; and the fact that men in responsible positions only too frequently give way in fact to cupidity, sensuality, and cowardice in no way prevents the same men in theory from honestly aspiring to admiring and teaching their true ideals: just as with us, a man may be or try to be a convinced Christian gentleman, although occasionally he may take a drop too much, or yield to business frauds and feminine seductions; or, as a distinguished Catholic once said to me of Alexander Borgia, "he may have been a good Pope in many ways, though perhaps he was a vile man." The Buddhists did not need to borrow literary thought from Lao-tsz; partly because they had their own discursive literature more than complete, and wished for nothing better than to translate it; partly because the sublime abstractions of Lao-tsz were altogether too high for adequate translation into a foreign tongue, and yet too simple to satisfy the popular craving for "business"—in the Salvation Army sense. Merely to wash in the waters of *tao* was not enough for the Chinese Gehazis in search of a political cure.

The Nestorians and Jews both borrowed largely from Taoism, as we can see from the extant Si-an Fu and K'ai-fêng Fu inscriptions, recording particulars of the entry of their respective beliefs into China. Possibly the authors tried to persuade themselves that they were only borrowing the mere expression of ideas; but it cannot be denied that they have also bodily borrowed some new ideas too. The Chinese Jews and some of the modern Roman Catholic missions in China have not been above citing and availing themselves of the fact that in A.D. 62 the Chinese Emperor "heard of a Sage in the West" (Buddha), in order to cultivate in the interests of their own religion the inference that this Sage was in the one case Jehovah and in the other Christ. The modern Chinese seem to have thought that Christ must have obtained many of his reforming ideas from Buddhist monks who spread themselves over Persian region, and therefore probably also over Syria, long before they came to China. There seems no sufficient reason to regard this suggestion with Christian indignation, as most of Christ's lessons were based on the text of daily events in the course of preaching and travel; and why should not a Buddhist monk, one of the group that visited China from Parthia's east frontier, and who on Christ's own hypothesis was as much entitled to salvation as any other Gentile, have gone west to Judæa and there suggested ideas; as much as did the Magi or Mazdéan priests who, in search for the Sôshyant or Saviour of their belief, made their way, as St Matthew tells us, westwards in those degenerate Parthian days in search of the mysterious star; and who doubtless contributed to reformed Judaism some of those moral principles of their own religion which so closely resemble those of the Christian faith? The original perfection of man; temptation by the Evil Spirit of the First Couple to eat of forbidden food; sin, retribution, good resolutions, repentance, confession, good works, sacrifice, rewards and punishments;—all these are according to the best authorities present in the noble Mazdéan teaching, which, in its origin, was, like the ancient Chinese religion, founded on Nature Worship. In the absence of clear definite evidence, the most reasonable conclusion is that the fatalistic Taoist, pessimistic Buddhist, exclusive Jewish, optimistic Mazdéan, and democratic Christian religions all worked and reacted upon each other in turn by imperceptible infiltration along the regular caravan routes; and were all, equally, earnest human attempts to grapple with and correct the misery and political failures of the times. If some of these human teachers considered themselves inspired and superhuman, why not, if done in good faith? why not now accept or reject this view in neighbourliness and good faith without mutual recrimination?

As to ancient cosmical speculations, whether Chinese or other, it is futile to discuss them, as, in spite of the discoveries of gravity, the circulation of the blood, the purely animal character of man's corporeal body, electricity in its various forms, spectrum analysis, X-rays, and so on, we know just as little of "final causes" as Lao-tsz did. It is probable, if we may judge by the orderly and perfectly consequent and harmonious nature of discoveries as we successively make them, that the solution of the whole question of human life will some day astonish us by its obviousness and simplicity. An ant goes about its destiny in one yard of space like we do over a square mile. From an ant's point of view the inexplicable vastness of a petty furlong of land is as hopeless as to us is the universe. Perhaps we exaggerate the importance of our power to think, speak, and remember; for it avails us to escape death no more than the unknown powers of the ant or bee. If a fraction of a grain of radium or helium can repel and contract a pendulum under our own eyes for 50,000 years, tons of the same or still more formidable material might equally keep in eternal movement any number of solar systems. In the first pages of his "Descent of Man," Darwin caustically alludes to the division (by Man) into Plants, Animals, *and Man.* "Spiritually" it seems equally presumptuous of Man to place his instincts so much above those of his fellow-animals as to hold in their embrace the creation and direction of all things. We know at least the use—often little dignified—of most of our organs, and why the body is shaped for and accommodated to such and such animal uses; surely it is absurd to insist upon a Supreme Ruler bearing this unworthy image? There is no reason why the imagination should not indulge in such makeshifts, or even why for the orderly conduct of human affairs such beliefs should not be cultivated, so long as no attempt is made to shackle men's minds. No one who, like President Kruger did, honestly believes the earth to be flat, incurs the hostility of the millions who are satisfied that it is nearly round. Why, then, should the *odium theologicum* be so persistent, except on the hypothesis that no one possesses the least knowledge about either life or soul, and therefore each apostle feels angry at being driven into a corner when pressed for demonstration? Such, at least, is the tolerant view the best rulers of China have always taken of religion. It has always been, and still is held that the Emperor and his functionaries are alone capable of fully realising the inner meaning of the classics—Taoist or Confucian—and that the sole duty of each of their lieges is to co-operate in the universal harmony, at least until by study he himself forms one of the eclectic; and the door is wide open to all. For this reason emperors of each important dynasty have from time to time, whilst carefully refraining from enslaving the mind with compulsory dogmas, issued paternal homilies to their "children," inculcating the virtues of filial piety, respect for elders and superiors, neighbourliness in villages, severity (with kindness) to children, contentment with one's lot, and abstention from causing pain or evil. If our Western missionaries would conform to these simple principles, which, after all, are Christian in spirit, we should hear little of persecution; and it is back to these simple principles that the Japanese seem to be going with their Shintō; perhaps carrying the Chinese with them.

CHAPTER I

CHINA'S PRIMITIVE RELIGION

Untutored man and his spiritual fancies. — Comparison with the finer instincts of animals.—First Chinese dual conception of the *yin* and *yang* principles.—Influence of the five elements.—Conciliating the Spirits of Good and Evil.—Observations drawn from the order of Nature.—The application of Music as a test or measure.—Civilisation confined to the central parts of what we now call China.—Early rulers not necessarily hereditary : origin of the term "Son of Heaven."—Filial piety and ancestral worship.—Ritual duties to *manes*.—Definitions of Heaven.—No dogma or mystery.—Folk-lore and superstition stand apart.—The idea was to conform human conduct to Nature.—Legendary period ends B.C. 2200.—Two later dynasties covering a thousand years : no great progress in religious thought.—Nine Virtues, and Sin.—The three principal powers, Heaven, Earth, Man.—Portable gods.—Evil rulers chastised by Heaven.—Rulers are but links in Nature's chain.—*Tao*, or "correct road."—Evil end of the second of the two hereditary dynasties.—"Book of Changes," or "Philosophy of Nature."—Real history begins with the Chou dynasty, B.C. 1122.—Kings replace "Sons of Heaven."—Religious ideas remain essentially the same ; purely Chinese.—Heaven confirms new dynasties ; appeals to Heaven.—Importance of sacrifices.—Exact chronology begins B.C. 841.—Religious ties always practical and political.—No terror of after life, or conception of a jealous God.—New marriage laws and extensions of worship.—Possibility, not probability, of Tartar influence.—Refinement in ceremonies.—Disunion sets in.—Taoism and Confucianism both attempt to arrest politico-religious decay.—Both apostles work on purely Chinese old texts.—One was radical, the other conservative ; neither was piously religious in the Western sense.

IN their moments of leisure, which must have been numerous, the primitive Chinese, like the rest of mankind, were puzzled to account for the phenomena of human memory and Nature's changes. As each day dawned, and the animals, birds, and reptiles began to stir, untutored man, when he uncoiled himself from his distressful sleep, would regain some confidence from the contemplation of recurring light. In a short time the mysterious orb of day would rise majestically from the same familiar spot, or from a point within a certain arc of the horizon, the extreme limits of which would recall to the mind statements of fathers and grandfathers. As the cheerful rays of the sun warmed up the veins of the guileless savage, and stimulated his appetites, the desire for activity and movement would be combined with feelings of caution, lest some angry beast or malevolent human rival should emerge from well-known lurking-places to contest possession of the quarry or the wife. The cravings of the stomach once satisfied, the winds, the storms, or the heat, according to season, would suggest the desirability of retreat and shelter, to be shared with mate and babes. As chill evening approached, and the stars began to twinkle, another mysterious orb, with irregular movement and shape, would feebly light up the awe-inspiring darkness. Dreams, and possibly occasional nightmares, would lead to rude mental comparisons between conscious and unconscious life. Visions of parents, rivals, and enemies would inevitably suggest inexplicable relations between the absent and the present folk. The corrupted body, finding its only possible resting-place in the earth, or on the bosom of an endless river flowing no one knows whither, would be to the imagination eloquent of other and unseen worlds; and of course no simple-minded man can possibly picture to himself any far-off worldly conditions other than those of which his experience has already taught him. As the dead bodies have manifestly left memories and visions behind, what more natural than to suppose that a puff of once active life has risen from this material corruption into the pure air, to come whistling round at some other time in the shape of wind, dust, hail, thunder, lightning, eclipses, and comets, according to season and circumstance?

Ideas of this kind, modified according to surroundings, must have occurred to all untutored men alike in attempting to account for these strange things. Animals, as is proved by their nice hereditary instincts, are as observant as men; and because an animal does not utter ordered sounds in the sense that we call "speaking," it seems logically hardly necessary to attach more importance to the experiences of man than to those of other animals, as all disappear from existence with equal certainty and equal helplessness. However, "the proper study of mankind is man": yet, if other living creatures are debarred from sharing our intellectual feasts, it must be remembered that we are equally unable to identify ourselves with the progressive advance of animals in what we call "instincts," often so sublime as to be even inconceivable to our five senses. As men, therefore, we have a natural tendency to exaggerate the importance of what our earliest ancestors in their ignorance may have thought. As that most religious of men, Dr Samuel Johnson, has well observed, "at the time when very wild improbable tales were well received, the people were in a barbarous state, and so on the footing of children."

If we penetrate so far as we can into Chinese antiquity, we find the earliest rulers attempting to conciliate by sacrifices, or by offerings of food, the spirits of the mountains and rivers. The ruler, or high priest, succeeded by degrees in co-ordinating the movements of heavenly bodies; and the alternations of darkness and light suggested the philosophic conception of sky and earth, summer and winter, shadow and glare, soul and body, life and death, tempest and calm, man and woman. This primitive conception, which runs persistently through all Chinese astrology, religion, and philosophy down to the present day, is known as the doctrine of the *yin* and the *yang*, often symbolised by a circle divided into tapering halves of dark and white. The next step was to connect the five obvious elements — ores, woods, water, fire, and soil — with the internal organs of the body, the primary colours, and the tendencies of individual character. The earliest rulers were patriarchal; but there seems, notwithstanding, to have always been a stratum of middle-men or "lords" between the sovereign and his children or people. It was the duty of the sovereign to take the lead in conciliating the spirits, or the unseen powers who granted or refused successful harvests. The spirits of men were called *kwei*, and those of Heaven and Nature *shên*. It is usual for Europeans to translate these words by "ghosts" or "devils," and "gods" or "genii," respectively: the Chinese have never been perfectly successful in depicting to our European imaginations what their two terms really do mean; when we shall have agreed amongst ourselves what our four translated terms positively signify, it will be time enough to determine how far they agree etymologically with the Chinese. The next steps were to subdivide winter and summer into four seasons; male and female into degrees of kinship; to mark the equinoxes and solstices with precision; to regulate the duties of husbandry; to note the periods of moulting, hibernating, and breeding; to balance the affairs of the earth with reference to the Pole Star as a pivot; to distinguish between supreme sacrifice to the Ruler on high, and the attentions due to the lesser and minor deities; *i.e.* to the more or less unseen specific powers of Nature on the one hand, and the visible objects of Nature on the other. A complicated system of musical tubes symbolised all measures, such as degrees of noble rank, of punishments, of weight and extent. The number of the elements—five—was extended to cover the principles of worship, mourning, courtesy, chivalry, and rejoicing; also to mark the four points of the compass (with the imperial tours of inspection each season), and the fifth point, or imperial centre, with sacrifices of oxen to royal ancestors. It must be remembered that the patriarchal life here described was confined to the central tract of China, as we see it depicted on modern maps, and that beyond the line of inspection lay the Tartars to the north, the Tibetans to the west, the Annamese and cognate tribes to the south, and certain savage tribes (of which no trace remains) on the northern coasts of the Yellow Sea.

In the year B.C. 2356 the Supreme Ruler had decided not to pass on the imperial authority to a worthless son, but to confer it upon a worthy Minister, who had assisted in bringing about many of the above extensions or reforms. This new departure was regarded by the incoming monarch as "Heaven's doing," and from that moment he took the dignity of "Son of Heaven,"[1] which belongs to the Emperors of China in our day. The most ancient explanation of the term is that "he was parent of the people, ruling over all under the heavens." This particular Emperor was noted for his filial piety, which virtue continues to be the strongest religious force in the Chinese mind; in fact, he took over the abdication in the temple erected to the spirit of his predecessor's ancestor, a further proof of the antiquity of this form of worship. One of the new ruler's first acts was to appoint an officer of worship, charged with ritual duties towards the spirits of heaven and earth, and towards the *manes* of individuals. Other ministers were charged with the duty of correcting calumnious popular reports and governing the people in accordance with the laws of Heaven—here defined by the commentators to mean the physical heavens, *i.e.* the seasons and Nature.

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[1] The Hiung-nu (*i.e.* Scythian Hun, or old Turkish) *tengri-kudu*, the Tungusic and (later) Turkish *khaghan* or "khan," the Persian and Arabic *faghfur*, and perhaps other Eastern titles all have the meaning of *T'ien-tsz*, or "Son of Heaven," still used by the *Ten-shi* (*sama*) or Mikado of Japan. It is much the same as the Western *Dei gratiâ*.

It will be plainly seen from the above that the ancient "religion" of China had nothing in it of dogma, faith, or mystery. We are justified in believing, or at least surmising, that the masses did not trouble themselves about deep thinking at all, and were willing to accept the principles of government evolved by their more leisured superiors. The superstitions of the vulgar belong rather to the department of folk-lore. From the very beginning it was the aim of virtuous rulers in China to study the order of Nature; to endeavour to rule human affairs on principles harmonious with Nature; and to accept with resignation, whilst philosophically ignoring, the possible prospect of future spiritual prolongation of this fleshly life. Parents were manifestly the immediate cause of individual human life, and it was not considered necessary to speculate upon remoter biogenesis beyond the evidence of the senses. The period embraced ends in B.C. 2200, and is usually called the "Five Emperor" period. It is, of course, largely legendary, and there are conflicting ways of determining precisely who the five emperors were, and how long they reigned; they are even connected sometimes by an obscure train of thought with the Five Elements. The "Yellow Emperor" has the best claim to be considered the first of them, because he at least was the earliest to organise primitive Nature-thought as above described. It is also certain that the last of the five was Shun, the first "Son of Heaven" by acclamation.

Now come two equally legendary dynasties, lasting together over 1000 years. Though much was done for the physical development of the Empire during this period, the religious ideas exhibit no great extension or novelty. Sacrifices are offered on mountain-tops and at cross-roads, the evident intention being to deprecate or exorcise evil influences. The celestial order, which forms a human guide, now crystallises into nine evidentiary virtues; to wit, firmness with consideration, energy with gentleness, being bold but respectful, imperative but cautious, determined but submissive, unshakable but courteous, careful but not petty, strong but true, irresistible but just. Hence Sin or crime is simply the disturbance of celestial routine. The mandate of Heaven is withheld from the incestuous, the sacrilegious, and the debauched; ceremonies and music illustrate the harmonious movements of heavenly bodies. The Emperor presents to Heaven his chosen and fit successor according to these tests. Heaven, earth, and man must be in harmony. Obedient subjects are rewarded "in front of the ancestor"; the disobedient are slain "before the God of Earth," along with their descendants. These last allusions are to the representative tablets which the Emperor carried with him when on the move, like the Ark of the Covenant, or the Roman *Terminus.*

The second of the two dynasties mentioned above lasted from B.C. 1766 to 1122, and owed its origin to the absence of virtue, the tyranny, and nonconformity with Heaven's principles of the last ruler of the first hereditary dynasty ending in 1766. The earliest duty of the new monarch was to punish the mesne lords who had neglected their sacrifices. He justified his action before an assembly of the people: "You have all cried out against guilt. I fear the Emperor on High, and dare not but chastise. Heaven commands me to put my predecessor to death." After taking possession, the conquering ruler made some change in the *terminalia,*—so far as tradition permitted of dynastic modification. On the other hand, we find later emperors of the new house reporting serious political matters to the ancestral shrine. The following speech delivered about B.C. 1340, after internal troubles had necessitated a change of title in the "restored" dynasty, well illustrates the religious views of the age :—

> "Be your majesty calm! Reform the government. Heaven looks down on those below, and grants them years according to their compliance with immutable laws. It is not Heaven which cuts off man's destiny prematurely, but man who neglects virtue and breaks off his own career. It is the hereditary duty of rulers to care for the people, and each of them is a continuing link in the ordered scheme of Heaven. Sacrifices must be regular, not so excessive as to travel beyond the correct-road."

This idea of a *tao*, or correct-road, is henceforth to run through all Chinese philosophy. During this dynasty, too, deceased emperors of merit began to be called *divi*, or, as the Chinese express it, *avi;* for, as we see, the "ancestral gods" are mere links connecting the virtuous ruler with Heaven and the Emperor on High: on the other hand, the wicked ruler is rejected of the people. This was the case with the last monarch of the second dynasty, an extremely clever but at the same time cruel and debauched man. One of the feudal lords, the "Chief of the West," undertook to represent the grievances of his vassal colleagues and the people; for this he was imprisoned by the tyrant, and tradition says that he beguiled his prison hours by composing the celebrated "Book of Changes," the handbook of all metaphysical learning. His son slew the wicked autocrat, and founded the celebrated reforming dynasty of Chou, with which Chinese history properly so called really begins. This was in B.C. 1122. After the son's death the title "Son of Heaven" was abandoned in favour of "King."

There is absolutely nothing in Chinese history to connect the "West" with any remoter region than the Shen Si province of to-day; but it is certain that this Western dynasty revolutionised the social life of China. Still, the new ideas worked into the "Book of Changes" were of old Chinese stock, just as the ancestors of their promoters had, from the beginning of the Five Emperor period, been purely Chinese vassal princes. Their westerly position had brought them into close contact with the Tartar and Tibetan tribes, whose manners, and therefore possibly whose religious ideas, several of them had adopted; but a feeling of duty to their people had decided them to avoid bloodshed, and to migrate further in towards Central China rather than go to war. The grounds upon which at last the mandate of Heaven was accepted were that the Emperor had separated himself from Heaven, neglected his ancestral sacrifices, corrupted the three principles of Heaven, Earth, and Man, quarrelled with his relatives, listened to female cajolery, substituted pleasure songs for orthodox music, and so on. "When the hen crows in the morn, ruin is coming apace." The first act of the conqueror, after dishonouring the bodies of his late suzerain and his guilty women, was to repair the desecrated altar of the God of Earth, pouring thereon a libation of pure dew; a victim was offered, and the "Supreme Emperor of Heaven" was solemnly invited to confirm the change of dynasty. Offerings were made without delay to the souls of those who had perished in the fighting, and the conquered empire was largely re-distributed in fiefs to the new ruler's own relatives, or to the descendants of past emperors. It may be useful to mention here that to the King's own brother was given the district (still so called) of K'üh-fu—thenceforward the capital of the State of Lu, to be later immortalised by Confucius. Whilst the monarch was thus engaged, he fell seriously ill; the brother in question at once purified himself, offered himself as a victim, and secured from Heaven his senior's convalescence. Now followed an Augustan period of peace and glory: the rites and music, rules and measures, once more took their orthodox forms; odes and ballads were sung everywhere by a contented people. The leading feature in the new system was the minute attention paid to sacrifices of all descriptions, in which not only Chinese vassal rulers, but also tributary and barbarous outlying regions were bound under pain of chastisement to take a part. Some of these were daily, as those to deceased parents; some monthly, as those to great-grandparents; others quarterly and yearly, to remoter ancestors; and, finally, the great imperial sacrifices on demise of the Crown.

The period of exact chronology begins with the year B.C. 841, and up to that date, accordingly, nothing can be very certain: *à fortiori*, is it impossible to define with precision the earliest Chinese religious notions. But from what has been predicated above, it is plain that there was little mystery, and that the religious ties were of a practical and political nature. Conformity was required, but only in the sense that we moderns are required to conform to the Law. There was no dogma, no terror of after life, no conception of a jealous Deity in any way different from the human soul. As to the innovation introduced by the kings of the Chou dynasty, the most original was a law forbidding marriage between persons bearing the same family name; and, subject to slight concessions in the case of two or three extremely common family names, this rule has never ceased to be strictly operative. Ancestral worship and mourning for the dead were extended and developed; posthumous titles and sacrificial or temple names were longer confined to the ruling clans. Feudalism became more pronounced among the mesne lords or electors, many of whom were now rather princes of the imperial house than chiefs of clans as of old. The main result was unfortunate, for these family princes soon began to intrigue against the

King. The establishment of an imperial harem with its corrupt train of eunuchs, imitated on a smaller scale by the courts of the princes, is the one novelty which suggests Tartar, Assyrian, or Persian influence; but there is no evidence of such. The number of officials, and consequently the weight of taxation, was largely increased; and as though to give these parasites something to do, ceremonial observances were practised up to the point of a fine art. The result of all this was that disunion and contentiousness were generated in China; each rival court had views of its own upon policy and religion; and an increasing mental activity gradually led to the introduction of the hegemony system, under which this or that great power amongst the vassal kingdoms assumed the political lead for several years, and often overawed the royal court itself.

It must be noted that in the year B.C. 874 the extreme Western state of Ts'in, corresponding to the modern Shen Si province, had withdrawn from the imperial system, and whilst interfering in Chinese affairs whenever interest required it, had remained a practically independent civilisation until B.C. 374. It was during this period of mental convulsion that Taoism and Confucianism were evolved, the idea of both apostles, Lao-tsz and Confucius, being one and the same,—that is, making use of the old literature, based upon the eternal and natural principles imperfectly shadowed above, to save society by crystallising existing knowledge, experience, and thought into a workable scheme of government. In neither case was there any religion—in our European sense of piety, praise, and repentance. The main difference was this: Lao-tsz was a rugged, radical denouncer of the Jeremiah or Carlyle type. Confucius was a man of comfort, order, reverence, and courtliness. It will be for us now to examine how these two "religions" grew up.

CHAPTER II

TAOISM

The old literature and spiritual thought.—The mass of popular life still primitive.—The classical foundations of religious thought.—Astrologer and Historian the same, because Man works on Heaven's lines.—Lao-tsz, or Laocius, the Apostle of Taoism, was such.—Military strife causes a longing for spiritual peace.—Old religious thoughts with novel interpretations.—The masses are of Heaven as much as the classes.—Laocius leaves China in disgust.—His evolution compared with that of Spencer (*vide* Appendix).—The influence of cultured Taoism greater than that of Confucius; *à fortiori* than of Buddhism.—Laocius was for Home Rule: he disapproved of learning as such.—Fill the stomach, and the soul will take care of itself.—Prepared to fight for pure principle: a soldier's honour: no joy in warfare as such.—Government a necessary evil; Laocius no anarchist.—Objects to imperial blustering; glorifies self-effacement.—The philosophy of Marcus Aurelius.—Nothing said of Faith, Prayer, Dogma, or Piety.—Justice and benevolence are a kind of complacent hypocrisy.—No punishments in future life; no sin or crime except as against Nature.—Virtues connote vices; better be without either.—Woman's place in Laocius' scheme; an indispensable "functionary."—All pleasures are subjective, and human life is consciousness; the enduring of the body of minor importance.—Laocius' interviews with Confucius.—Laocius induced to write a book before disappearing into space (*vide* Appendix).—Traditions of a connection between Laocius and Buddha.—Laocius and Taoism both purely Chinese, and of undoubted authenticity: his imitators all inferior.—Degenerate modern Taoism: medical admixture: origin of elixir quackery.—Taoism exploited by mischievous ambitions.—Destruction of literature in B.C. 213.—Rivalry of Confucianism, and then of Buddhism.—Cumbrousness of ancient books.—Most modern Chinese virtues may be traced through Taoism.—Humility the key.—The Pope of Rome in 1905 speaks as a Taoist.

DURING all this time a literature had existed in

China, and from portions of it that still survive we are able to form fairly distinct notions of the spiritual thought. Had the Chinese written upon clay, like the Mesopotamians; or upon flax and the papyrus, like the Egyptians; we might have been able to reconstruct for ancient China the scenes of daily life and barter. Chinese life in the far interior is, or was until Europe arrived in force fifty years ago, so simple that we may suppose without risk that the social and economical conditions are now not far removed from what they were 2000 or even 4000 years ago. But the Chinese wrote upon perishable wood, which could neither be baked into eternity, nor wound round air-proof and damp-proof mummies: hence we possess scarcely a shred of script more than 2500 years old, and none of that touches upon popular life. Moreover, the ancient "Classics" which have been preserved for us, though they teem with allusions to the Five Emperor and Three Dynasty periods, were none of them conceived until the beginning of the last of the three dynasties—that of Chou—or put together in their present form till near the close of that dynasty. Moreover, much of the cumbrous wooden literature of China was deliberately consigned to the flames in B.C. 213, as we shall see; and therefore what we still possess had in most cases to be reconstituted by appeal to memory, or by digging up buried texts which had meanwhile become partly obsolete. The "Classics" are the "Book of History" (only half of which could be reconstituted even imperfectly); the "Book of Changes," an unfathomable system of evolution and divination based upon certain mystic symbols or groupings of lines; the "Book of Odes," containing satirical and other songs, sometimes of a political nature: these were edited in later days, and in any case only four or five refer back even so far as to the second of the three dynasties; and the "Books of Rites"—one being official, the other domestic—which give us more or less vivid notions of the formal side of Chinese life. There can be little doubt that the best standard versions of these, and of any other important official works then existing, were kept at the royal court in Central China, and that copies were secured by the minor courts of the vassal princes. The fact that the keeper of the archives and the astrologer were one and the same person brings out more clearly the circumstance already suggested, that in ancient China the movements of heavenly bodies were indissolubly associated with the vicissitudes of man; and that, from the very beginning, any religion that existed was simply religious duty towards the state organism, as part of the organism of Nature. As the "Book of Changes" says:—

"Regard the divine[1] road of Heaven, and the unerring sequence of season. The holy man sets his teaching by this divine road, and the Empire submits accordingly."

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[1] This *shên-tao*, or "divine path," is the *shin-tô* of Japan. The word "empire" is generally expressed by "below heaven," the supposition having always been that the "Son of Heaven" is Vicegerent over the world.

Lao-tsz, whose name is permanently associated with the Taoist religion—that is to say, with the doctrine of *tao* or "the course (of Nature)"—was keeper of the archives at the royal or imperial court during the sixth century, and as such he was naturally in close touch with his fellow astrologers and historians at the minor courts. The restoration of B.C. 827 had not done much to arrest imperial decay, and in B.C. 770 the Central Government definitely moved east to the modern Ho-nan Fu. The "Powers" were, like so many competing Cæsars, more or less intimately related to the supreme Augustus, and each was attempting to assert *de facto* pretensions to coerce Augustus, if not secretly harbouring hopes to become himself the *de jure* Augustus of China. Just as under the decaying Roman system the title of Cæsar was frequently and freely distributed, so the "grasper of the ox's ear" in China variously asserted the shifting hegemony. The situation might be also compared with the pretensions and hopes of German electors to succeed to the honours of the mediæval Roman Empire. It was after a couple of centuries of this bloody strife and base intrigue that Laocius (if we may so latinise his name) began to acquire universal reputation; and men's minds were all the more ready to hearken to the new gospel of self-denial and democracy in that all but the ambitious militarists were beginning to grow sick of intestine strife. What Laocius particularly preached was the emptiness of rank, luxury, and show; the superiority of mind over matter; the importance of being, rather than of having. There is not much novelty in the texts from which he deduces his conclusions: almost every clear sentence that he utters can be referred back to the old classics from which he manifestly drew his inspiration. In short, he was simply a reformer, superimposing, as it were, a New Testament upon the accepted but misinterpreted structure of the Old. The degenerate moderns, as they were to him, had gradually, whilst nominally performing their sacrifices and conforming to Heaven's eternal laws as of old, allowed their ambitions, their cupidity, their lusts, and their caste pride to obscure their capacity for interpreting rightly the grand old keys to human happiness. Those neglected keys had done good service during the philosophical period of the patriarchal Five Emperors, and during the semi-feudal period of the first two dynasties, when Central China, by means of her superior civilisation and "pacific penetration," had triumphed over her cognate neighbours; and had, by a system of artificial kinsmanship allied to adoption, made native chiefs believe that they were becoming pure Chinese. Earlier records confined themselves to stating what emperors thought and did. During the third or Chou dynasty, each court, when decay had set in, recorded by preference its own ruler's independent thoughts and acts. The people languished in misery or bled themselves in wars solely for the ambition and luxury of an ever-increasing warrior caste; and Laocius was the very first to place the claims of the masses on an equal footing with those of the classes and the Supreme Ruler. At first these notions were enthusiastically received; but Laocius found in his old age that human passions were too strong for him. After "howling in the wilderness" of solitude until old age forced him to think of his end, he decided to shake the dust of ungrateful China from his feet, and to seek death and oblivion in the real wilderness of the West.

So far as Laocius' doctrine simply developed the ancient conceptions of the *yin* and the *yang*, the five elements, three principles or primaries, the indestructibility and mutability of Nature, and his own extended theory of evolution generally, we are scarcely justified, even at this distance of time, in ridiculing him; for "our great philosopher," after all his life's labours under the most favourable circumstances of access to stores of ascertained facts, has scarcely advanced one step beyond Laocius in solving the mystery of who we are and why we are here. The utmost we can do is to say, with Huxley: "If we could *imagine* ourselves to have existed 100,000 years ago, we might *expect* to have then witnessed the gradual development of life out of inorganic matter." Such as Laocius' necessarily hazy theories were, they are given in full in the Appendix to this work; so far, at least, as it is possible to understand and translate them. They seem to be a kind of Monism, minus the basis of applied science which has enabled the latest German philosophers to express it more clearly. But his declamations and denunciations of the corruption, heartlessness, and vanity of his day are perhaps as applicable to our own times as to the Fighting States Period of China. He was an apostle of simplicity, and pleaded in season and out of season consistently for a return to Nature. It is this part of his doctrine which has always been quite as comprehensible to the lettered Chinese as the incisive words of Voltaire or Diderot have been to the cultured of Europe. Buddhism has never exercised—we might even say Confucianism has never exercised—anything like the durable influence upon the cultured Chinese mind that pure and unadulterated Taoism has. Throughout the ages, solemn quotations from the Taoist classic have ever been in the minds of statesmen at supreme moments; it is doubtful if a single historical instance can be cited where a saying of Buddha has conveyed solace or warning to the world from the mouth of a really first-class Chinese statesman or scholar.

Laocius was, so to speak, secretary of state at the imperial court just at the time when the royal power was becoming ridiculous; when unscrupulous diplomats and ambitious princes were dragging the home-loving people from their tillage and their weaving to shed their blood in distant and unprofitable wars. Each menacing vassal lord vied with the other in extravagance and magnificence: the king or emperor was often a mere puppet in the hands of a "protecting" mesne-lord. Ill-gotten treasures were amassed from plundering wars, which were often fought on the flimsiest pretexts of outraged dignity. Laocius drew pictures of an ideal and idyllic age, when "home rule" should reign in all tracts bounded by Nature's lines; when men attended to their own business without carking cares or anxieties, without recking what might be going on beyond the brook which circumscribed their village. He discouraged "learning" as such, for at best it only repeated what other men like ourselves had said, and moreover inclined men to make invidious and vain personal distinctions. The only eternal study was how to arrive at the principle of the "right way." Once this principle ascertained, it was applicable to all possible sets of circumstances which might occur. The point was to avoid creating artificial circumstances, and thus cumbering the mind with artificial remedies for such.

As one of Laocius' chief tenets is the vanity of petty human distinctions, it is not to be wondered at that he never once mentions a specific person or place. There is no evading the manifest elementary fact that the human body is here, and must be fed; it is the hungry and dissatisfied stomach that stimulates the mind to evil. Hence, feed to repletion, deal with events as they come in a spirit of nature and reasonableness, *i.e.* of human nature as ascertained by incessant contemplation of the *tao* or "order" of things. To employ a modern simile: having once generated the true spirit of the right way in the mind, all that is necessary is "to switch it on" as wanted, when it irresistibly solves all entanglements, equalises all irregularities, and subdues all excesses. So completely does Laocius recognise the possibilities of frail human complications, and so practical is he, that he even admits the necessity of sacrificing life on a wholesale scale in order to assert the legitimate power of *tao*; and we could not have a better modern illustration of this application than the flinging away by the Japanese of countless *bushi*[1] lives on the battlefield, in order to secure to the majority and to their country in the future the full results of the all-pervading power or principle thus applied to unfortunate circumstances. The attitude of the orbate and Spartan General Nōgi is expressed in Laocius' own words:—

"Warfare is an inauspicious engine, and not the engine of the accomplished man, who only makes use of it when unavoidable. When the butchery of human beings is very heavy, we should bewail the fact with weeping and mourning; and thus, when the victor emerges from the fight, he should be associated with the melancholy insignia of death and destruction, and not with triumph."

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[1] *Bushidō*, or as the original Chinese words are now pronounced, *Wu-shī Tao*, means the "principles of the military man," or "a soldier's honour," as we might say in England.

Even Government was viewed in the light of an indispensable executioner, and placed, with the war-lord, in the category of necessary evils. Just as ordinary individuals were warned not to amuse themselves too curiously with the headsman's art, so the ruler is advised to keep the objectionable arcana of his craft concealed from the common people. But, whilst regarding all governments as an eyesore, Laocius does not go to the length of Tolstoy in denouncing them; he is a socialist without being an anarchist, and would even assist government to carry out thoroughly the unavoidable minimum of work. He admits that all men must be hammers or anvils, leaders or led, in this imperfect world. He is totally against the use of force for purposes of moral compulsion; but, when force is necessary, he will even admit the use of guile to deceive the foe. So, when government measures are indispensable, he will tolerate deception on the part of the statesman in order to gild the pill for the uninstructed people. Laocius leaves the assertion of superiority to conscious mental power, and is entirely against imperial blustering and self-assertion, gorgeous display, armed peace, and "mailed fists." By self-effacement a really able man will find that his mental inferiors unconsciously insist on exalting him. Life as we find it, can, he knows, never be pure Nature unadorned; a carpenter must hack the trees for vulgar uses; an executioner must hack the body, a governor tax the people, a general slash off heads. Let the fish remain in his tank; let us each remain quiescent in our respective spheres. We are not responsible for, nor can we affect the departed past. If we are fortunate enough to "find salvation" in the shape of *tao*, whatever our calling may be when this mental enlightenment dawns upon us, let us apply the principle consistently to whatever circumstances may supervene, leaving detail to take care of itself—the philosophy of Marcus Aurelius.

We have seen that in the ancient Chinese philosophy there was little to justify our popular use of the word "religion." Beyond notifying Heaven, the Spirit of Earth, and the ancestral spirits of events, and propitiating them with sacrifice, there is no trace of "faith," prayer, or dogma. Beyond the inculcation of humility, economy, and justice, there is no trace of devout piety. In Laocius' development of the old system, there is even less religion than before. Filial piety, tenderness, and loyalty connote the absence of those qualities, and the inference that the bulk of men are not what they ought to be. Justice, benevolence, and learning would never be recommended unless the majority of men had so neglected the simple principles of Nature as to exhibit inharmonious deficiencies in those appropriate adjuncts of *tao*. In Laocius' opinion, fine art, love of possession, greed, and crime are on the same level of progression as learning, ceremony, rank, and tyranny. You need to unlearn rather than to learn; that is to get rid of all unnecessary adornments beyond the "good old simple plan." The keynote is simplicity—in dress, in mode of life, in mode of expression, in social form, in personal enjoyment, husbanding of force, absence of friction, independence of favour; avoidance of flurry, of emulousness, argumentativeness, luxury, display, exclusiveness, restlessness, and of strife. There is not the faintest suggestion of punishment in a future life; of "love" of a jealous God as distinct from devout respect for the figurative God presiding over Nature; of sin, except as an outrage upon the eternal principles of Nature as gathered from the contemplation of heaven, earth, and man; or of crime, except so far as equality of natural right is infringed. The fact that continence and sobriety are not so much as mentioned, and are thus taken for granted, may be an object-lesson to us less thrifty nations, and may also help us to understand why Laocius regretted the necessity of even mentioning justice, learning, and other virtues, regarded as indispensable by us. As he says: "If there were no thieves and ill-doers, no laws and enactments would be necessary; if matters went on in an orderly way at all times, no virtues need be named." Women are only alluded to in general terms as an indispensable and inferior part of Nature's scheme; the intercourse of small states with large is ingeniously compared with that of females with males; it is part of the "nature of things," and the correct conduct of the smaller state may in many circumstances put it on a moral equality with the greater, and may even lead to its absorption by and its indirect conquest of the greater, just as a man may yield to a woman's softer powers. But women are never specially or concretely mentioned at all: throughout all grave Chinese literature, in fact, there has been and is an extreme decency in alluding to so delicate and personal a subject, invariably considered as being private and irrelevant, just as we Westerns consider allusions to body linen, the workings of the alimentary canal, or any other bodily function. As Laocius says, we cannot distinguish between the gem and the ore; each has its place in Nature, and from that point of view all are equal, exactly as the spoke is indispensable to the carriage. Rewards and punishments had no objective place in his system. There can be no joy or sorrow apart from personality and consciousness, and the personality which conforms with *tao* has a subjective satisfaction which is independent of externals. Like water, which always seeks the lowest place for itself, the universal *tao* finds out the minutest chinks, solves and dissolves, and is irresistible in its humility and persistent communicability; it is unnameable, and endures for ever beyond the insignificant life of individuals.

Confucius, who travelled over various states with a view to inducing princes to arrest the degeneration of the age, visited Laocius at the imperial court, and discussed many questions with him. Neither philosopher seems to have come out of the encounter with much respect for the other; the elder man considered his visitor too formal and obsequious, whilst Confucius professed himself unable to understand Laocius' mental flights. It is not clear how often they met; but shortly after the year B.C. 500 the old archivist, recognising the hopelessness of inducing men to accept his doctrine in the ever-increasing struggle for political power and profit, decided to quit China altogether. He was last heard of at a certain pass on the Western frontier, accompanied by one of his disciples, who followed him into the wilds of Tartary or Tibet. Before he passed into space, the official in charge of the outpost induced him to record his views in a book. This is the *Tao-têh King*, a translation of which is given in the Appendix. The outpost official, like most reflecting men in those days, was himself a convert, and there is a book still extant, called the "Pass Guardian," which develops many points of the doctrine on independent lines; but there are evidences that, respectable though it be, it is a production of a very much later age; indeed it was not "discovered" until 1700 years after the supposed author's death. There are various traditions mentioned in standard Chinese history about Laocius having reappeared in Tartary, Khoten, and India—even that he is the true originator of Buddhism; but these traditions have no real value, nor do the Chinese of repute ever pretend otherwise. However, in no case do they seem to doubt the absolute authenticity of Laocius' book, which is, moreover, unique in style, and has never for any considerable period ceased to exercise the most powerful influence on the cultured Chinese mind; the more so in that their best critics believe it to represent pure native thought, based on pure native literature and philosophy, unsullied by outlandish heresy.

Whilst Laocius was alive, he had followers, but no rival; and though after his mysterious disappearance he had imitators, developers, exponents, and critics innumerable, he has never ceased to be the sole apostle of pure Taoism, as evolved by himself from materials common to all. If it is thought better not to encumber these pages with an account of what other philosophers of his school wrote, it is because the Chinese from the first have had the wisdom to discern the inferiority of their productions, and have never for an instant allowed the eccentric notions of these secondary prophets[1] to assume the proportions of a national

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[1] The oldest of these is Lieh Yü-k'ou, commonly called Lieh-tsz

"religion." Even at Buddha's headquarters in Lhasa, there is a temple to a Taoist apostle of the T‘ang dynasty, and only four years ago the Manchu Resident invited the Emperor to add further "divine" honours to his memory.

The degenerate but harmless Taoist priests seen nowadays in the Chinese towns and villages no more represent the noble abstractions of Laocius than the negro bean-feasters in America, or the dancing revivalists in London depict the simple charity and democracy of Jesus Christ; yet in both cases there is a pedigree, and the charitable may admit an honest attempt to do well according to dwindled lights. Hwang Ti, or the Yellow Emperor, the remote ancestor of Taoism, had, according to tradition, a strong vein of medical lore in his learning, and the great Chinese Æsculapius[1] of the sixth century B.C. adopted the name of that Emperor's leech. It will be noticed that Laocius himself makes some allusions to immortality. He says somewhat profoundly that "only those who succeed

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(Licius), an allegorical writer of the fifth century B.C. More celebrated a century later was Chwang Chou, commonly called Chwang-tsz (Sancius), whose cynical and paradoxical treatise has been translated into English, and is therefore now available to home students. In the eighth century of our era, just when Buddhism, Taoism, Nestorianism, Mazdéism, Manicheism, and Mussulmanism were all competing for High Asia, the doctrines of Sancius received the imperial Chinese patronage for a brief season. To the following extent, at least, Sancius is honoured beyond all other stars of the second magnitude. Taoism is occasionally styled "the doctrines of Lao and Chwang."

[1] Pien Ts‘ioh. The sixth-century Pien Ts‘ioh's real name was Ts‘in Yüeh-jên, and he is credited with having partly discovered the circulation of the blood.

in dying unforgotten attain to true old age"; and "only those who in trust and innocence take their lives in their hands need no armour in battle, and fear no wild beasts in time of peace." These, and a few other apparently paradoxical utterances, were greedily seized upon by inferior Taoist philosophers. Medical quacks and unscrupulous politicians ingeniously extracted as much of the joint doctrine of Hwang-Lao as suited their specific purpose. The founder of the modern imperial system in B.C. 213 destroyed all the argumentive literature he could get hold of, except works on Taoism, Astrology, and Medicine, which were considered positive "sciences." Up to the beginning of our Christian era, Taoism was highly favoured by successive emperors and empresses, often even to the exclusion of Confucianism. One famous emperor became a victim of superstitious quacks, who pretended to brew elixirs, turn base metals into gold, and, in short, seized upon all the worst points of degraded Taoism in order to further their own ambitious ends.[1] Thus Confucianism at last got its main chance; and when Buddhism followed, Taoist impostors were driven to still further shifts of hocus-pocus in order to compete successfully for popular favour. (We shall be better able to follow out these struggles when we come to speak of Buddhism, Manicheism, Nestorianism, and Islam.) But these aberrations of Taoist degenerates have nothing to do with the question of the grand old principles of Laocius, which even in our present times are manifestly beyond the intellect of the majority; and this majority is but a small minority of cultivated men in a sea of ignorance: how much more, then, must it have been beyond the reach of the ancient Chinese masses at a time when "books" were painfully varnished upon shingles with a bamboo style, and when a "hundredweight of documents" represented one day's work of the very monarch who burnt "the books," and who could easily, by reason of its huge bulk, call in for destruction nearly all the cumbrous literature in the Empire. The stoical diplomacy, contempt for luxury and show, democratic absence of caste feeling, universal veneration for ancestral ties, contempt of military glory, hatred of restless activity and needless change, profound personal humility, resignation in the face of suffering and death,—these and many other remarkable qualities which, in spite of degeneration and universal corruption, mark the whole Chinese race, and notably the best specimens of the lettered class, are simply the secular effects of the pure Taoist doctrine, which endeavours to make men conform in peace and concord with the decrees of Heaven, whose Vicegerent is the "eater of the Empire's dirt," that humblest of individuals, the Emperor. That this view is not in itself presumptuous may be seen from the following words of Pope Pius X., taken from his allocution as published in the *Times* of the 28th March last: Laocius said the same thing 500 years before the Pope's Master was heard of:—"The "Pope, who humbly holds on earth the place of "God, who desires peace and agreement among "men, prays that Providence may inspire princes "and peoples with ideas of concord. The ills "which afflict humanity everywhere are so numerous "and so severe, that they are enough without any "further troubles from the noise of arms and the "struggles of warfare."

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[1] Su Ts'in and Chang I., the celebrated Machiavelian diplomats of the fourth century B.C., were both pupils of the Taoist recluse Wang Hü, who applied Laocius' doctrines to a system of political intrigue.

CHAPTER III

CONFUCIANISM

K'ung-tsz, or Confucius, also an archivist, but local: had an inborn taste for ceremonies.—Sketch of his life: his visit to Laocius.—The two philosophers do not admire each other.—Confucius worked on old texts: places wherein he differs from Laocius.—No theory of rewards and punishments in a future life: he was political and practical.—No Western philosopher exactly resembles him.—A Jesuit's appreciation of his "religion."—As a historian.—Dies a disappointed reformer.—At first overwhelmed by Taoism. — Other competing philosophies. — The "First Emperor" resolves to be rid of learned men.—Taoism not under the ban which was laid upon Confucian literature.—Comparison with Alexander the Great's destruction of Mazdéan books.—Up to this time the Chinese had never conceived of a religion in the Western sense.—No "miracles," salvation, or "love of God."—History of Confucius after his death.—His works and failure.—Anarchy of the period B.C. 470-220.—Era of contentious philosophy.—Unification of China.—Destruction of Literature.—Survival of the Taoist classic.—Summing up of the subject of religion previous to our era.—Political use made of Confucius.—Chu Hi's revival of Confucianism.—Mongol ignorance.—Attitude of the Manchus.

WHILST "Laocius" was keeping the archives at the imperial capital (marked on modern maps as Honan Fu), K'ung-tsz, similarly latinised into "Confucius,"[1] was making his career in the petty signorial state of Lu to the north-east, forming the south-western part of Shan Tung province. The reigning duke bore much the same relation to the King or Emperor of China, that the Duke of Weimar bore to the "Roman" Emperor of Germany; and Confucius was his Grace's Goethe. In his early youth Confucius had displayed an inborn appreciation of ceremonial, and had even used tripods, sacrificial dishes, candles, and official hats as playthings. Moreover Lu had always been a literary state, ever since its foundation about B.C. 1100 under the feudal rule of the new emperor's brother; nor had it been so much involved as the four or five "great powers" amongst the vassals had been, in war and diplomatic intrigue. Hence the surroundings were comparatively favourable to the development of a natural bent. Confucius married early, and obtained an official post as inspector of granaries. It is known that his marriage was not an affectionate one, and that his solitary son was by no means a success. Hence Confucius had ample leisure to develop his somewhat formal and rigid character in congenial channels; to read up diligently all the available records of the past; and to draw therefrom the sound principles of good government. To eke out his slender official salary he took pupils, whom he instructed in the arts of official, moral, and sacrificial deportment, music, and archæology. When he was twenty-four years of age his mother died, and Confucius now found opportunity to prove his filial piety by fulfilling to the utmost the forms of mourning etiquette. His father had been a gallant soldier; and at the age of seventy, despairing of offspring from his original wife, had taken Confucius' mother, a mere girl, as handmaid; her remains were reverently placed in his father's tomb. After the three years' mourning had been fulfilled, the Duke placed a travelling equipage at Confucius' disposal in order that he might visit the imperial capital, as was the practice with cultured vassals in those days, in order to compare local documents with those filed in original at headquarters, and thus increase his knowledge of antiquity and music; which, as we have seen, was considered along with astrology as a key to the fitness of things. Here he visited Laocius. The grim old democratic sage did not give a very gracious reception to the young courtier from the provinces, whom he seemed to regard with a sort of amused contempt as a mere master of deportment. It was much as though, during the throes of the Slave War, a European lord-in-waiting should have visited Abraham Lincoln with a view to ascertaining his opinion upon the divine right of kings and grand-dukes, the proper respect to show to the *wohlgeboren* class, the advantages of morganatic marriage, and the question what position in Heaven would be occupied by the coloured races. On the other hand, Confucius, whose mind was full of veneration for blood and rank, and for the advantages of obedience, respect, "justice and benevolence" (the two pet aversions of Laocius), confessed himself unable to understand all the mystic self-abasement of Taoist ideal rulers, the metaphysical and astrological system as extended to human affairs, and so on.

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[1] The addition of the syllable *fu* to the particle *tsz* adds dignity, but it is not conceded to many philosophers. Thus, Menfucius or Mencius, Confucius or Concius. Laofucius would be appropriate, but it has never been accepted; we say Laocius; the same with Licius, Sancius, etc.

Whilst admitting that Confucius was a very worthy man, the Westerner fails to discover any symptoms of extraordinary genius, or any reason for the unlimited admiration in which the Chinese hold him. In his *Miscellaneous Conversations* (a book compiled by disciples), and in those later parts of the royal *Record of Rites* emanating from Confucius and his disciples, we get more precise ideas touching his character. He was a moderate eater, but very particular and nice. He was not a teetotaler, but he never got tipsy. When the mysterious forces of Nature manifested themselves in the shape of storms or thunder, he considered it his duty to sit up with respect; but he declined to enlarge upon his reasons for so doing. He always said a kind of grace before his frugal meals by offering an oblation: but probably he only followed common practice, for the oriental custom of pouring out a drop of liquor, or scattering a few grains of food before partaking of it, is still in popular Chinese vogue. Confucius' own deportment was in consonance with his teachings. He used, giving them a negative turn, almost the exact words so familiar to all Christians: he said: "What you do not wish others to do to you, do not to them." Self-control, modesty, forbearance, patience, kindness, orderliness, absence of effusiveness and passion, *studiousness*, *industry*, mildness, *dutifulness*, neighbourliness, fidelity, uprightness, moderation, *politeness*, *ceremoniousness*;—

these were the qualities which Confucius consistently practised and taught, and which (with the exception of those printed in italics) Laocius had taught before him, and most of the prehistoric teachers had taught before Laocius. He laid special stress upon the necessity of cultivating intelligence and alertness. He abominated extremes, and preached the doctrine of the *happy mean* in everything;—in short, the doctrine of the Peripatetics; a sort of machine-like smoothness, with no jerks or surprises, either on the side of virtue or on that of vice. Gloomy asceticism, tearful emotionalism, and passionate militancy were alike foreign to his taste. He was neither a theologian nor a metaphysician. He simply saw and understood his countrymen, and went to history for the means of governing them: according to his lights, obedience to superiors, and recognition of the "divine right" principle were essential: it was herein that he chiefly differed from Laocius. There was nothing of the fanatic in his composition. Like Laocius, he scarcely alludes to specific members of the gentler sex; it seems as though he despised women, except as mothers; that is, he granted them no such equality as we do, and he would have nothing to do with flirtations, dances, singing, or it may be presumed those harmless kissing amenities so popular with Europeans. Mencius, 200 years later, was the first to qualify him as "holy." But Confucius declined for himself the right to be called a saint, or even a good man. He said: "I am never tired of learning myself, and never weary of teaching others." He did not wish to appear censorious. Though tolerant of old religious or superstitious notions, he did not care to go into questions of future life, extraordinary things, spirits, devils, anarchy, revolution, and mystic doctrines. Hence the shrugging of his shoulders at Laocius. In the presence of the forces of Nature he was, as we have seen, awed but silent; he declined to discuss what he did not understand: he said: "Heaven does not talk, and yet the four seasons come with regularity." It is scarcely wrong to say that pure Confucianism is no religion at all in our Western sense. Some missionaries describe the ancient notions, which Confucius confined himself to criticising and transmitting, as spirit-worship tending towards fetichism. What Confucius really did was to arrange ancient ideas in orderly form, and revivify them with notions of his own, just as the old Jewish teachings received fresh inspiration in the form of Christianity. The ancient idea, as explained above, was that there existed a Supreme Power, and that the King or Emperor, as a sort of vicegerent, was the only orthodox channel of spiritual communication with that power. In this capacity the Son of Heaven was a Mediator for his people; or, as Laocius put it, "ate dirt for the Empire." The worship of private families and individuals was confined to the spirits of deceased ancestors. "To sacrifice to spirits not belonging to a man," says Confucius, "is mere flattery." The Chinese regarded and still regard the next world as being a mere repetition of this, each person in this world addressing himself to those of his own rank and kind in the next. Confucius, like every one else both before and after him, grew up totally ignorant of any world except that in which he found himself. His prudent attitude has led some European divines to brand him outright as a sceptic, who only veiled his disbelief out of deference for antiquity. But that is going too far. He noticed that the imaginations of his fellow-men led them to express belief in much that was not evident to him, so he adopted the safe and already sanctioned course of admitting nothing but the possible existence, in a form not quite apparent to him, of sentient beings that had already lived in this world. He did not care much about the constituent elements of emotion or intellect. Metaphysics had no charms for him. It cannot even be made out whether he thought man's nature good or evil in its origin. He admits that men are naturally born different, but the effects of such initial differences are as nothing compared with the levelling effects of education and training.

Nor was Confucius inclined to split hairs upon the vexed question of "Sin," or even to speak of sin except in connection with the practical affairs of life. "The proper study of mankind is man," once more. On one occasion he said that, setting aside theft and robbery, there were five capital sins—malignancy, perverseness, mendacity, and two others not very clearly defined, but which look like vindictiveness and vacillating weakness.

Confucius was a believer in the three ancient forms of divination, and an ardent student of the mystic diagrams dating in their extended form from 600 years previous to his own birth. It has never been proved that these diagrams had any practical meaning; or, if they had, that the meaning now given to them by curious students expresses what Confucius really had in his mind. Confucius, in short, consulted the popular oracles, as did the Greeks and the Romans. We may disapprove; but if it was foolish to consult oracles of which he knew nothing, why should it be wiser to make requests to spiritual beings of which he also knew nothing? The government of China still publishes a list of *dies fasti* and *nefasti*, and orders prayers to "save the moon" at an eclipse, although its officers are scientifically acquainted with, and perfectly capable of foretelling the eclipse. Probably Confucius fell in with popular views; herein he was of less stern stuff than Laocius. One thing is quite certain: whatever Confucius believed in a vague way as to the spiritual form which man took after death, he certainly never conceived any such idea as the doctrine of rewards and punishments. His view, concisely expressed, was that "life and death are a matter of destiny; wealth and honours are disposed by Heaven." In other words, whilst approving individual effort, he counselled patient submission. To this extent, therefore, it may be said that Confucius had no religion, and preached no religion. Like the Persians and Chaldæans, the Chinese and the Tartars had a sort of popular Sabæan religion, in which worship was offered to the Sun, Moon, and Stars: at times also to other forces of Nature, such as wind, the forests, and the rivers. But some of these beliefs, including certain forms of divination, may be popular excrescences which have been superadded at a later date upon the more ancient monotheism, or upon the sanctioned state beliefs described in the first chapter. Dr Legge considered that even now this basis of monotheism is no more destroyed by popular additions than is our own monotheism destroyed by the worship of saints by large numbers of Christians. Of all the things which we Westerners, as Christians, profess to believe, there are only two essential things which it was reasonably possible for Confucius to believe. He might have believed in a Maker of Heaven and Earth, in the Resurrection of the Body, and in a Life Everlasting; but that scarcely amounts to a religion, as nearly all primitive men have had beliefs of this kind. He probably did, in common with the received traditions, more or less vaguely believe in a Supreme Maker; but, unlike Laocius, he did not attempt to define or to dogmatise as to what that Maker was, or how that Maker created. He preferred to discuss the practical character of things before his eyes, and was indifferent to the causes of those things. He says nothing about the future state, but holds

that man continues, after what we call death, to live on. The Chinese idea of death differs from ours: thus, a man may die and come to life again; that is, may lose consciousness and revive; their ignorance of physiology precludes conception of our absolute notion of death. In the same way with the ghost which takes its departure on death; there is always an idea that it is hovering near the body, and may give trouble at any time if not propitiated. There have been endless discussions amongst missionaries as to why Confucius preferred to speak impersonally of Heaven, avoiding the personal form God, and as to whether he believed in the efficacy of prayer. In most cases the arguments appear somewhat biased by the personal preconceptions of the polemic; that is to say, he wishes to prove that, if Confucius was good, it was because he believed what the controversialist believes; if evil, because he failed to believe what the controversialist believes; and so on. This is, in fact, the course which the rival schools of Chinese philosophy themselves adopt. Where Confucius is silent, they claim that he expressed in general terms the sentiments expanded by themselves. In other
7 words, they dogmatise. Thus Mencius insists
, that man's nature is evil, Cincius[1] that it is good,
in its origin. One philosophy pleads for universal

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[1] Tsêng-tsz, the philosopher Tsêng, Confucius' expositor and chief disciple ancestor of the Marquess Tsêng, former Minister to Great Britain. In 1330, the family chiefs of the Tsêng and Mêng (Mencius) houses were made perpetual hereditary dukes, like the representative of the K'ung family.

love; another for pure selfishness. As a matter of fact, Confucius steered clear of all positivism; he said, in fact, that even his "medium policy" was a shifting medium, according to time and circumstances: in short, he was in some respects an opportunist. He objected to commit himself so far as to say the dead were conscious, lest rash sons should waste their substance in sacrifices; he equally declined to assert that they were unconscious, lest careless sons should not sacrifice at all. At the same time he himself always sacrificed with becoming reverence, as though the spirits were present.

Some blame Confucius because he was unable to grasp the full nobility of the Taoist maxim: "Return good for evil." Confucius took time to consider, and finally decided that evil should be repaid by justice, and good reserved for the recompense of good. Moreover, the full Taoist context shows that Laocius by no means advised turning the cheek to the unjust smiter. His own countrymen find fault with Confucius for glossing over, in his history, the failings of men of rank, worth, or his own family connection; Laocius said, on the other hand, there should be no respecting of persons; and his countrymen respect him for having said it. Confucius was above all things practical, and considered that confidence in the stability of the state was more important than the adequate alimentation of the people, which again was more vital than the possession of military strength or learning. He said: "First enrich your people, and then instruct them." As to the concealing of historical truths, it is hopeless to get men to agree upon this point; even Laocius advised the ruler to hide and disguise his crafty methods. Confucius' frame of mind may be judged from his reply to a disciple, who was in doubt how to act when his master, a feudal prince, was bent on a foolish act. "Oppose him, but deceive him not." That is, do not offend by showing your hand too obtrusively, but do not conceal your hand. What (it may be argued) is the use of exposing the weaknesses of those in power? Is it of real advantage to us that Bacon should be proved to have been the meanest as well as the wisest of mankind? The old Chinese idea that rulers are the vicegerents of God is tempered by the conviction that bad rulers may be dethroned. Perhaps Confucius thought it better not to rake up slumbering guilt unless it were possible to punish at the same time. At all events, Confucius was loyal to the princely houses, and had no axe of his own to grind: the utmost that can be charged against him is a certain canniness which prefers to be on the safe side; and, if it must err, then to err on the side of cold prudence rather than on that of warm impulse. As to mere personal defects, perhaps a testiness of temper can be not unfairly charged against him; and indeed against Laocius too.

It is a little difficult for us, even after stringing together such a galaxy of virtues as Confucius really possessed, to understand the Chinese enthusiasm for his memory. Western history teaches us to admire manly grace and beauty; bodily activity and love of Nature. Whether we take our ideal military, civil, or ecclesiastical heroes, our poets, philosophers, or lawyers, we find no character closely resembling Confucius. Even the founders of our principal religions, including those of Buddhism and Mohammedanism, have very little of Confucius in their attitude; notwithstanding that in the two instances of Christianity and Buddhism the qualities which have secured the reverence of hundreds of millions are in many respects precisely the qualities possessed by Confucius. Confucius commands the regard of the European critics; but somehow it always seems that he does not secure a full measure of respect. He certainly was not a handsome man; his heavy round back, long ears, projecting teeth, and misshappen head were scarcely heroic; he disliked to discuss athletic sports; his habit of moving about in a springless ox-cart, or when on foot with his arms extended like wings, scarcely suggests perfect dignity to us; his skill as a musician would perhaps appeal more strongly to our sympathy if we understood better the part assigned to music in ancient social life, and were ignorant of modern Chinese music. At the same time, there is reason to believe that much of the ancient theory and science of music has been lost. It is certain that a custom existed of collecting popular ballads for purposes of government records. Many of the ancient ballads are very beautiful and simple, besides being perfectly comprehensible to the modern ear. We may therefore assume that Confucius possessed genuine bardic feeling. His treatment of women was rather contemptuous, and he says almost nothing about marriage; but it must not be forgotten that all Chinese serious writtings are scrupulously decent and reserved in their specific allusions to feminine matters; even empresses "hearken to government from behind a jalousie." His love for truth was, as we have seen, occasionally tempered by prudence. His fondness for forms, ceremonies, and, above all, for funerals and mourning is not at all in our line. But here, again, a due show of grief at the loss of a parent only forms a continuous chain with the filial obedience required during life, and with the solemn sacrifices after death. In short, we can only account for the unmeasured reverence which Confucius has secured in the hearts of his countrymen by slightly modifying the celebrated words "every country possesses the government it deserves," and by suggesting that China possesses the teacher she deserves; or, to put the matter into a more subjective light, by suggesting that, when a great teacher or prophet appears, the mere fact that he is recognised as a prophet or as an instrument of Heaven connotes the circumstance that he is suitable to the people who believe in him and recognise him. Moreover, Confucius' reverence for the divinity that doth hedge a king in due course brought all kingly influence on his side. If we have a difficulty in appreciating Confucianism to the full, the Chinese have a similar difficulty with our beliefs, which often appear to them somewhat absurd. An able Chinese Catholic who a few years ago published a very learned critical work upon comparative religions, thus sums up in his native tongue the attributes of Confucius: "Although Confucius taught the necessity of reverence and disinterested charity, he had no true belief in a self-existing Creator of an organised universe; no faith in promised grace to come, or in eternal life; no true love of God as a Perfect Being above and superior to all things; no true fear of God as the Supreme and Sole Ruler of the universe; and no true obedience to His commandments." Can those who blame Confucius for not believing all this show any grounds why at that date he should have believed it; and are they sure what they mean when they say they believe it themselves?

Others again have charged Confucius with cold-blooded eudæmonism, that is, with only insisting upon virtue because it leads to temporal happiness. What Confucius said was: "He who heaps up goodness shall have much happiness," and *vice versâ*. There is nothing very terrible in this; but it is evident that argument upon so abstract a point might last for ever. He declined to pray for recovery when he was sick, but he did this in such a dubious way that the commentators and the missionaries have not yet come to an understanding upon what he really thought on the subject of prayer. In the absence of Buddhist or Christian revelation to serve him as a guide to belief in the doctrine of rewards and punishments, Confucius did the next best and noblest thing, by maintaining the impartiality of moral retribution and the immortality of good fame. In this view he seems to have been anticipated by Laocius.

Confucius' own reigning duke set up a great lamentation for him when he died in B.C. 479, and it is (somewhat doubtfully) said erected a temple to his memory for quarterly sacrifices of a bullock; but no word of panegyric beyond the bald expression "Father Ni" was conferred upon his memory,—in allusion to the philosopher's personal appellation *Chung-ni.* The royal or imperial dynasty took no notice whatever of his death. The people of the ducal state, who came from time to time to pay their respects to his memory, gradually formed a village round the tomb, and such relics as the Sage's hat, clothes, cart, lute, and books were preserved in what seems to have been the shrine; or, if there was no temple, then in a museum or other commemorative building. Confucius was the first Chinese historian to deal with facts in contradistinction to exhortations, eulogia, and denunciations. His book begins with the reign of the fourteenth duke of his own petty state, in B.C. 722, and continues down to the second year before his death; he obtained his facts from the state records of the central court, possibly on the occasion of his visit to Laocius there. After his death began the great *degringolade* which it had been the great common object of the two rival philosophers to stave off—the so-called "Fighting States Period," lasting until the unification of the Empire under one autocrat in B.C. 221. Confucius' last (or almost the last) words were: "My words are ignored, and *tao* has no vogue." During these two and a half centuries of fighting and intrigue, only one prince found time to patronise literature, which, however, did not languish in the two states of Lu and Ts'i, forming modern Shan Tung province. During all this time Taoism had chief possession of men's minds, and Confucianism was literally nowhere with its "justice and benevolence, rites, and music." But Taoism had not the field exclusively to itself; though *inter arma leges silent*, it seems as though in all ages war stimulates contentious knowledge. There was the school of simplicity, socialism, and universal love, the head of which was a Quixotic Diogenes called Mêh-tsz or Meccius (fifth century B.C.); the school of denominationalists, or pedantic adherents to the letter of absolutely defined principles; the legists, or partisans of a system of repression and punishment (on the Plehve-

Pobyedonóschtschoff basis); the astrologists, or believers in occult influences; the medicals or elixirists; the sensualists; and many others, recalling to our minds the various divisions of Greek philosophy at the same period. When the King of Ts'in (a state which had held aloof from civilised China between the years B.C. 874 and 374) at last forcibly united all the competing states, he found the multitude of counsellors a serious obstacle to his new project of centralisation under trained functionaries, and in the year B.C. 213 he was persuaded by his prime minister (a sort of creative Bismarck) to destroy all objectionable literature and scholars. Over 700 literary men, comprising most of the known savants in the empire, were invited to the capital, decoyed to a convenient spot "to inspect the flowers," tumbled into a prepared hole, and buried alive. The penalty of death was decreed for any persons who should in future raise discussions as to the meaning of passages in the "Book of History" and the "Book of Odes" as revised by Confucius, and no one was allowed even to possess these works, except those officially dubbed "scholars." All other histories except the annals of Ts'in were burnt, and the world was directed to begin afresh with the conqueror as innominate "First Emperor"; future emperors to be equally innominate and numbered. Works on medicine, divination, and agriculture were spared, and amongst them the "Book of Changes": that the Taoist classic fell within the shadow of the "Book of Changes" is almost certain; for the First Emperor was under Taoist influence, and the classic never needed rediscovery as the classics of Confucius did; it was never lost. It is impossible in all this not to recall to mind the new era of the French Revolution, and the burning by Alexander the Great, 2200 years before that event, of all the Mazdéan books except those on medicine and astrology.

The next chapter will be on Buddhism; but it is important first to bear well in mind that, up to 2000 years ago at least, the Chinese mind had never conceived the idea of religion, as superior to, and divested from human affairs. Such spiritual matter as can be discerned in Laocius and Confucius is indissolubly connected with the Universe and with Man: miracles are never so much as hinted at; after life is scarcely conceived; the idea of "saving one's self" is not only not in the remotest degree suggested, but is indirectly condemned as an unworthy, a selfish preoccupation. Sacrifice, including sacrifice in the highest and sublimest sense of self, is commended; and devout respect for the Unknown takes the place of "Love of God,"—an emotional passion not easily presentable by available language to the logical Chinese mind, and which is apt to appear to them much in the same light as would a Reverence for the Equator, or Adoration of the Sun,—the last, in fact, a universal Tartar form of religion. As to the vicissitudes of Confucianism, the cult has never at any period been dislodged from its privileged position, when once established at the beginning of our era. During the first century, emperors on three or four occasions made personal visits to the Sage's old house, in order to perform sacrificial worship; in A.D. 72 the Emperor even mounted the local rostrum and delivered a eulogistic discourse. The lineal descendants then bore the hereditary title of Marquess. This title was confirmed and modified on several occasions during the next three centuries, the founders of each dynasty naturally endeavouring to secure their own succession to the imperial dignity by associating themselves with the oldest and most revered spiritual succession in China. When subsequently the empire was divided into north and south dynasties, the Toba Tartars in turn, and the Sung, Ts'i, Liang, and Ch'ên houses of Nanking, all took opportunities to facilitate and provide for Confucius' sacrificial honours; by this time the hereditary Marquess had in various ways been assimilated in dignity to a prince of the empire, and in the year 608 the Sui dynasty, which had reunited China, ordered a report on the family to be prepared. In the year 739 the T'ang Emperor, who had a few years previously visited the mansion in person, placed Confucius on a "south-facing" footing (kingly status) with the Duke of Chou, his ancient imperial model; and in 978 the lineal holders of the hereditary title were exempted for ever from all taxes by the first Sung monarch. At last, in the year 1055, the still existing ducal title of *Yen-shêng Kung*, or

"Duke of Prolific Holiness" was conferred, and (with the exception of a short change between 1086 and 1103) this distinction has been held ever since without a break. During the twelfth century the great philosopher Chu Hi,[1] after carefully studying and rejecting both Taoism and Buddhism, placed the critical study of Confucius' doctrine on a new and more uniform footing, and ever since then the best literary men of China have, with rare exceptions, continued to abide by this reformed Confucianism as the sole intellectual training worthy of a patriot and a gentleman. It is noteworthy, however, that throughout the Mongol dynasty (1206-1368) pure Chinese held a social and political position inferior to that enjoyed by Mussulmans, Ouigours, and, of course, Mongols: it followed, as a matter of course, that the rough and gross Tartar rulers, mostly bigoted Buddhists of the most sensual type, who relied on pure force for the success of their administration, treated Confucianism with a certain amount of ignorant contempt; but for political reasons the emperors were always ready notwithstanding to sanction the succession of each duke as his turn came. The present Manchu dynasty, like its predecessors of the Ming family, has always shown extreme deference to the rights and privileges of the K'ung clan.

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[1] The Chinese philosopher Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528) (pronounced in Japanese Ō Yō-mei) opposed the system of Chu Hi or Chu Tsz (Japanese Shu Shi). This is interesting in view of Admiral Tōgō's reported "Yo-mei" proclivities. This last philosophy was thoroughly explained in 1892 before the Japan As. Soc. by Dr G. W. Knox.

CHAPTER IV

BUDDHISM

Results of the Great Chinese Revolution.—Confucius begins to be recognised.—Religions hitherto viewed as "crafts."—The ground favourable for the introduction of Buddhism.—Chinese conquests cause contact with the Indo-Scythians; various foreign notions about religion observed.—Rumours concerning Hindoo culture.—An Emperor's dream interpreted to mean Buddha.—Mission to India, and return of Hindoo priests with books.—The Indo-Scythians first told the Chinese of Buddhism.—A Scythian "idol" or effigy confused with Buddha.—How the Indo-Scythians received Buddhism from the Indus.—Impossibility of Buddhism reaching China by land before A.D. 1.—The Emperor's brother converted; rivalry of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism at Court.—Buddhism discredited for a century.—Taoism begins to borrow from Buddhism in order to compete with it.—More Buddhists from India, Parthia, and the Oxus.—More *sûtras* translated.—New ideas about souls and future existence; and about alphabets.—Sympathy between Chinese and Hindoo ideas.—Some slight ground for ascribing Buddhism to Laocius.—Celibacy and transmigration of souls the chief novelty.—Ideas about women suit the Chinese.—Not antagonistic to Taoism.—Definition of the various forms of Buddhism that found favour in and around China.—Distinction between the higher and the popular forms of one and the same religion.—Buddhists by the sea route, and China divided into three empires.—Magadha and South-west China.—Adventurer dynasties under Buddhist spell.—Political influence in North China of Buddhôchinga and Kumâradjîva.—Travels of the Chinese pilgrim Fah Hien.—No persecution in China.—A statesman's comparison with Taoism.—Fifth century revival of Taoism.—First persecutions.—Travels of Sung Yün.—An Emperor assumes the cowl.—Vicissitudes of Buddhism and Taoism.—China once more united.—The illustrious T'ang dynasty.—Vicissitudes of Buddhism during the various

Tartar and Chinese dynasties from A.D. 960 to now.—Chu Hi's revivalism and Confucian "Orthodoxy."—Genghis and Kublai Khans.—Mongol Buddhomania.

THE great Chinese revolution was as permanent in its effects as the French one was destined to be 2000 years subsequent to it, but the first imperial dynasty vanished as quickly as Napoleon's was to do. By the year 202 B.C., after a period of unparalleled bloodshed, a successful soldier of genial practical temperament had founded the celebrated dynasty of Han upon the ill-digested conquests of Ts'in. Far from being a patron of literature, the new emperor took a pleasure in expressing his contempt for learned men. But meanwhile the village tomb of Confucius had enshrined itself in local memory; his hat, clothes, cart, lute, and books had been preserved; and in the year 195 B.C. the monarch, having found respite from his warlike labours, personally paid a visit to the grave, sacrificing an ox, a hog, and a sheep—the Roman *suovetaurilia*—to his memory. Both Taoism and Confucianism were spoken of at this period as *shuh*,[1] or "crafts"; some of the Han emperors and princes patronised the legists; others the terrorists; but most of them the Taoists. It was not until B.C. 49 that the Confucianists obtained favour at Court; but meanwhile there had been many imperial patrons of learning; search had been made for copies of missing books; the Confucian classics had been as far as possible reconstituted; and there was no persecution — rather, indeed, "open door" to all opinions. Thus the ground was favourable for the planting of Buddhist seed.

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[1] Then, as now in Canton, pronounced *shut* or *shut*; the Japanese, who must sibilate final *t*, pronounce it *dzhuts* or *djitsu*. This is the word used in *dju-djits* (*jujitsu*) or "gentle craft," the "painless wrestling" of the Japanese. The History, Odes, Rites, and Music classics are sometimes styled the "Four Crafts."

But there was another circumstance which predisposed the Chinese to give thought to outlandish spiritual notions. The necessity for expanding and protecting extended frontiers had led to the systematic settlement of South China (B.C. 138-135); the "cutting off" of the Tartars' right arm (B.C. 127-111); the conquests of South-west China (B.C. 111-109); and that of Corea (B.C. 108). The western expeditions brought the Chinese into contact with the great Indo-Scythian monarchy of the Oxus Valley, then gradually extending itself towards the Indus. Apart from growing familiarity with Corean — and through Corea with Japanese—notions of worship, with the superstitions of the nomad Tartars and Tunguses, and with the customs of the Tarim Valley, the Chinese generals and commissaries had begun to hear strange things of India and its mysterious culture. The way the name of Buddha was first introduced into China was this wise: Two centuries had elapsed since the era of discovery and external conquest began; the Han dynasty had collapsed and been reconstituted; and Chinese influence was once more beginning to assert itself in High Asia when, one day in

A.D. 62, the Emperor had a vision. He dreamt that a golden man with a bright light in the crown of his head had floated through the air into the Palace. A courtier who heard the story remarked that "it must be Buddha, a divinity in Western parts." This observation led the Emperor to despatch a special mission to India; and, after two or three years' absence, this mission returned safely with a huge standing image of Buddha, and forty-two books, or chapters, of *sûtras*. Two Hindoos, one of whom was named Kâs'yapa Mâtanga, accompanied the mission back, apparently by way of the Cabul Valley, Yarkand, Khoten, and Lop Nor: these men, on arrival in China, at once began the study of the language, and the translation of the *sûtras* thus brought.

The fact that a courtier was able to suggest the solution "Buddha" is of itself strong evidence in favour of the supposition that "people had been talking" about the new religion for some time, just as a few English students have for a generation back been discussing Shintō and Bushidō, though the London press have only mentioned them seriously since the Japanese displayed their great patriotic qualities before the world. But there is more specific evidence than that. Fragments of an extinct Chinese history published about A.D. 220, and surviving in a second work compiled about A.D. 425, make it quite clear that, so early as the year B.C. 2, the King of the Indo-Scythians communicated to a Chinese scholar some prophetic words from a Buddhist *sûtra.* Nor is this all; it is explained that Buddha's father was called S'uddhô-dana, and his mother Mâyâ; the country in which they dwelt seems to be intended for *K'ap'i* —manifestly Kapilavastu. The Indo-Scythian king in question would, if we judge by the date, be Kadphises the First; and although that name is unrecognisable as given in Chinese dress, the two next kings, Kuzula-Kadphises and Oêmo-Kadphises, will fit the Chinese names fairly well so far as the sounds Kuzulu and Oêmo are concerned; and there is a distinct statement in the A.D. 425 compilation that in A.D. 229 the Indo-Scythian King Vadêva (manifestly one of the Vasudêvas) accepted a title from China. Thus we are enabled to say with certainty that Buddhism was introduced into China by the land route which was followed 1200 years later by Marco Polo and his uncles. During the process of "turning the Tartars' western flank" in B.C. 121, the victorious Chinese armies had captured a golden man from one of the Scythian princes then ruling over a state corresponding to Marco Polo's Erguiul. This "gold man" had been used for purposes of worship by the nomads, and for that reason the Emperor had directed it to be placed in his palace amongst the effigies of other notables; incense was burnt before it, and obeisance made; but it was not worshipped with sacrifice. These facts have led many Europeans to accept a suggestion, retrospectively made 1200 years ago by later Chinese, to the effect that

Buddhism had long made its way to the frontiers of China, by way of the Scythians or Tartars, before the Chinese themselves admitted it towards the beginning of our Christian era. But there is evidence in A.D. 550 that there had long been a Tartar custom of casting golden images of empresses and heirs-apparent, who were acclaimed only if the casting operation turned out successfully. The Indo-Scythians whom the Chinese first discovered in the Jaxartes region in B.C. 130 had been driven from their original habitat near Erguiul (Liang Chou) seventy years earlier by the very Scythians (Hiung-nu) whom the Chinese partly conquered in B.C. 121. By the time the Indo-Scythians (who only became such after being Chino-Scythians) had gradually worked their way over the Oxus, displaced the Sacae,[1] and come into contact with Parthia, Cophene, and India, all remnants of Greek rule had disappeared from Bactriana, and the rude Indo-Scythians had to choose between two rival civilisations,—between the fire religion of Persia and the Buddhism (mixed perhaps with Brahmanism or Sivaism) of India; there were no other religious influences at hand. The evidence of coins found shows that the Indo-Scythian kings—though many or most of them were converted to, or partial to, Buddhism by the time they had conquered Cophene and reached the Indus—still tolerated the Persian religions, for they are represented on those coins as sacrificing upon the fire altar, with an effigy, however, of Siva and his cow on the other side. It is therefore unreasonable to suppose that the current of migration which sped from China towards the West could have borne eastwards in B.C. 121 a religion which the said westward current had itself yet to hear of by crossing the Oxus, and could therefore not have become sufficiently settled to consider, not to say propagate, until close upon the commencement of the Christian era.

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[1] The Chinese call the indigenous race displaced by the Indo-Scyths, by the name *Sdk*, and everything available in the way of evidence points to these being the Greek writers' Sacae of the Sacasthene region, now called Seistan. There is not the faintest trace in Chinese history of any white, or Greek, race of rulers.

No sooner had Buddhism officially reached China in A.D. 67 than the Emperor's brother became a "pervert"; in his younger days the prince had been a *viveur*, but now he gave himself up to Taoist and Buddhist exercises. It was in A.D. 1 that the Chinese Emperor had first erected a temple for sacrifice to the joint manes of Confucius and the Duke of Chou—the founder of the dynasty and ethical system which Confucius delighted to honour. This perversion of a later emperor's brother from orthodoxy would not have mattered much had not the prince combined his heterodoxy with treason. The ultimate result was the suicide of the prince, and the consequent discrediting of Buddhism at the very outset: and nothing more was heard of it for nearly a century. In the year 147 an emperor came to the throne who was very fond of music, and had also a great liking for the mysteries of Taoism and Buddhism. In order to compete with Buddhism, Taoism (which from a Chinese point of view resembled Buddhism in many points, such as its democratic spirit, its humility, contempt of riches, its tranquillity, and self-sacrifice) had gradually degenerated more and more from the severe old model, and had had to reconstitute itself in popular form under the first of the Taoist "Popes," who have continued in an unbroken line down to this day. During the second part of the second century, more Buddhist missionaries came from Parthia, Indo-Scythia, and India; but there could not have been very many of them, for we find a Chinese statesman explaining to the Emperor that the principles of Buddha, like those of Laocius, inculcated the sparing of life, the extinction of passion and extravagance. If there had been many, such explanations would have been quite unnecessary. More *sûtras* were translated; that of the Nirvâna being particularly good. A magnificent Buddhist monastery was constructed at the (modern) Yang-chou Fu (where Marco Polo was Governor, opposite the present treaty port of Chinkiang); services were regularly held there, and over 5000 families were converted.

The arrival in China of a new intellectual system from abroad, and the suggestion of transmigration of souls in accordance with the principle of retribution, of course awakened new activities in the Chinese mind; and these activities extended to the field of etymology; for until the advent of the Hindoo alphabet no native scholar had been able to classify sounds, initials, and finals on a system intelligible from our Western point of view. The meagre story of Buddha's life, no fuller than that of Laocius, and infinitely less informing than that of Confucius, was not particularly impressive. Like their own philosophers, he was represented to the Chinese as being a reformer and transmitter; being of the royal house of Kapilavastu, and a repentant man of pleasure, he would be a congenial and respectable model for the Emperor's brother, who eagerly took up the new ideas, and had already endeavoured to find peace for his mind in Taoist austerity. Laocius and Confucius took over, transmitted, and reformed from the "Book of Changes"; from the notion of the Trinity of Heaven, Earth, and Man; and from the *yin* and *yang* (male and female, light and shade) theory. Buddha did the same with Brahmanism, in which Brahmâ was the first of a Trinity, and (as the translated Saddharma Puṇḍarika *sûtra* expresses it in clear and simple Chinese) "the father of all living things." The body was divided into the visible, material, and perishable, and the invisible, spiritual, and immortal, which, of course, tallies almost exactly with the division of all Nature into *yin* and *yang*. Buddha had shaken himself free of all sectarian doctrines and caste distinctions; proclaimed the insignificance and vanity of wealth and pleasure; and deified humanity by absorbing it into Nirvâna. All this is the purest of Taoism, as will easily be seen by glancing over the original classic given in the Appendix. No wonder the story began to find favour which related that Laocius, after disappearing from China, had converted the *Hu* (=Tartars, Persians, Hindoos), and had worked his way through Khoten into India, there engendering Buddhism. Absurd though we may think this story, the dates, so far as they are known, do not at all stand in the way of our believing it; the Chinese early in the seventh century made their first acquaintance with India *viâ* Nepaul and Tibet, and it is only within the past few years that Nepaul has been absolutely proved to have been the birthplace of Buddha. Those who without any evidence are eager to derive Laocius' inspiration from the West, must therefore admit that there is some possibility, though perhaps no relevant evidence, of Laocius having taken his own original ideas *to* the West. But, to return to Buddha, celibacy and the transmigration of souls, according to good or evil works, were prominent among the new ideas preached. Continence had never been so much as mentioned as a Chinese virtue; still less abstinence. Transmigration rather impinged upon the accepted doctrine of ancestral continuity, and at once roused orthodox hostility. On the other hand, Buddha's doctrine that woman's highest ambition should be for her soul to reappear in a man, quite accorded with the old Chinese view that woman was a mere function, and must belong to, or "follow," either father, husband, or son; her only independent chance of salvation being, according to the Buddhists, to become a nun, or at least a sister of charity. Even Buddha's "miracles," which are the least respectable portion of his teaching, and were apparently designed to prove that natural laws will yield to strong spiritual force, were not quite new to pure Taoism, which in a way may be said to have taught that mind is independent of matter. Later Taoism was even more sympathetic towards miracles.

From the outset the Chinese have not made much use of the word Gâutama in speaking of the founder of Buddhism; they have preferred the name S'âkyamuni, often contracted to S'âkya; whence an erroneous idea grew up towards the seventh century that the Kapilavastu royal family-name of S'âkya was connected with the name Săk, applied to the Sacae princes of the Cabul Valley. The sandal-wood statue brought to China in A.D. 67 not unnaturally received the same honour that had already been bestowed in B.C. 121 upon the captured Scythian image, and which for ages the Chinese had paid to the images of their own ancestors; the step onwards to more general "idolatry" was not far, in China as had been the case in India. In addition to this, Buddha, like Laocius, having evolved a new cult out of already existing beliefs, had barely time to lay the firm foundation of his craft before zealous disciples introduced changes never at all contemplated by the founder, who strained every effort to substitute atheism (in its harmless and natural meaning), and virtue, for the Brahmanic pantheism and S'ivaïc immorality, excluding metaphysics in favour of ethics. The three "means of salvation," or of "conveyance across the river of life to Nirvâna" were soon corrupted to mean the three phases through which the Buddhist teaching passed. The more primitive Hînayâna, or "Lesser Conveyance," with its asceticism, atheism, and transmigration of souls, never found more than local favour in active China, being more suited to the temperaments of Ceylon and Burma. Besides, its *sûtras* were inconsecutively translated, and thus to a considerable degree incomprehensible. The Mahâyâna, or "Greater Conveyance," founded by Nâgârdjuna, took firm root in the Cophene region, and more especially in Tchakuka (Yarkand), whence its passage *viâ* Khoten and the Tarim Valley to Lop Nor and China. The transcendental speculations of this system are often almost indistinguishable from the abstractions of Laocius, whilst the quietism and meditation which it substitutes for the physical asceticism of the southern school, renders it more acceptable to the practical Chinese, who are by no means minded to starve on their road to salvation. Finally, there was the Yôga school, otherwise called the Tantra school, founded by Asaṁgha of Gândhârâ in the fourth century, a mixture of Nepaulese Dhyânâ, or contemplation philosophy, mixed up with heterogeneous S'ivaïc ideas, and chiefly acceptable to the bucolic mental capacity of the Tibetans, Mongols, and early Siamese,—*i.e.* the Tai or Shan race, before they left Yün Nan for the Ménam Valley, and imbibed the higher Burmese notions of Buddhistic religion.

It is impossible here to define all the multifarious forms of Buddhism which obtained vogue in China. We must draw a distinction between the elevated abstractions congenial to the cultured classes, and the gross animalism and imagery alone capable of captivating the masses. The distinction between "Butler's Analogy" with the criticisms thereof made by Gladstone's massive intellect on the one hand, and the various forms of noisy revivalism on the other, is not greater than the distinction between deep-thinking Chinese Buddhism, and the vulgar clap-trap which often came locally into vogue, not unnaturally exciting the contempt and indignation of the Confucianists. In fact, side by side with the ancient spiritual cult Taoism, and even in a measure side by side with Confucianism, there has always existed a backwash of popular superstition. The history of this belongs, as already suggested, rather to the domain of folk-lore than to that of serious thought; it is therefore unnecessary to do no more than barely allude to it.

Roman and Indian trade with Canton and the Irrawaddy Valley is recorded during the second century; the Hindoo trading colonies of Indo-China brought their religions with them, and a second stream of priests thus reached China by sea. The ruins of Angkor and Ciampa still attest the Buddhist zeal of the Indo-China of those days. In the year 221 the second Han dynasty collapsed, and three rival Chinese empires ruled for half a century. The founder of the southern (capital at modern Nanking) was personally a strong Buddhist; the founder of the northern was the first to allow Chinese to shave the head and become "Buddhas" (the earliest native word for "priests"); the old White Horse Office in which the first load of *sûtras* had been deposited in A.D. 67 was now a permanent monastery, but rebuilt in Hindoo style, and the word "office" had become the adopted word for *saṁgha*, or "monastic assemblies," in general. The western empire was in immediate contact with Burma and the Shan kingdom of Yün Nan, whose history shows close but ill-defined religious connection with Magadha (Patna). Towards the end of the third century China was reunited under the Tsin dynasty; but meanwhile these internal wars and changes of dynasty had given the various Tartar nomads a good chance, and for the next hundred years the whole of the north, from Tibet to Corea, was in the hands of competing foreign adventurers, all of them more or less deeply under the spell of Buddhism. Besides the White Horse, there were over forty "Buddhas" (pagodas or monasteries) in the older capital of reunited China; and priests, (some of them sent back from China more than once) kept arriving with *sûtras* for translation at the new metropolis (modern Chang-têh Fu). They came from Khoten, Samarcand, India, Cophene, Indo-Scythia; and now we notice a curious custom of taking the names (or part) of those countries as family names for the new arrivals: on the other hand, as Chinese priests had to leave the family on taking orders, the word *sam̃gha* (Sêng) was adopted as a patronymic for all native bonzes, and remains so to this day. Towards the end of the fourth century the Chinese or Tsin emperors had to cross the Yangtsze; several of them were strong Buddhists, and a prominent statesman felt bound to remonstrate when a *vihâra*, or private chapel, with a staff of priests, was erected inside the palace. The last of the dynasty (A.D. 419) escorted on foot a golden image of Buddha, constructed under his own supervision, three miles to its resting-place in a monastery. A statesman, relative of the empress, incurred great unpopularity by constructing gorgeous monasteries with forced labour; this led to his execution, and it is recorded that he chanted *sûtras* up to the foot of the scaffold. The first Buddhist nuns came to China from Ceylon in A.D. 425.

An enthusiastic Chinese priest from (modern) Chêh Kiang province had obtained a very warm welcome during the first half of the fourth century at the court of one of the Hiung-nu adventurer "emperors" ruling in North China, and did his best to elucidate the true meaning of the Vimala and Saddharma *sûtras*, which the western bonzes had as yet only imperfectly translated; this distinguished Chinese Buddhist, whose name was Wei Tao-an, sent disciples to Yang-chou Fu, and also into far-off Sz Ch'wan; he himself ultimately found his way to the court of the Tibetan "emperor" reigning at (modern) Si-an Fu. In his earlier days he had formed a friendship with the Indian *s'ramaṇa* Buddhôchinga, who had taken orders in Udjâna (Swat), and been in the service of an earlier Hiung-nu "emperor" of North China; Buddhôchinga now passed into the later adventurer's service. One of the barbarian monarch's Chinese advisers said: "Buddha is a foreign god, and not of the kind to be worshipped by the Son of Heaven; it is proposed that all high officers of state be forbidden to burn incense and worship at the temples; moreover, it is suggested that all subjects of your Majesty's dominions who may have become *s'ramaṇa* be ordered to unfrock." The Tartar issued the following decree:—

> "I am myself of outlandish origin, and having now become autocrat of all the Chinas, may well be permitted to follow my own customs in matters of religion. I hereby authorise all persons, be they barbarians or born on the spot, to worship Buddha if they choose."

Another celebrated Hindoo Buddhist was Kumâradjîva, whose father hailed from Taxila, but who was himself born of a Tartar mother at

Kuché, and had spent his youth in Kashgar. His "Chinese" service was chiefly among the Tibetan "emperors" of the Si-an Fu and Liang Chou regions. He was a correspondent of Wei Tao-an, but never himself visited Si-an Fu until the year 401. The world-famed pilgrim, Fah Hien, whose travels Dr Legge has translated for us, set out from the court of this Tibetan ruler in the year 399, and made a complete round of the Buddhist countries of High Asia. After visiting "Erguiul," Lop Nor, Khoten, Tashkurgan, Kashmir, Cophene, Udjâna, the Indo-Scythian capital of Gandhâra, Taxila, Peshâwur, Canouge, S'râvastî, Buddha's birthplace in Kapilavastu, Patna, Ciampa (which doubtless gives the name to the Indo-Chinese Ciampa), and Tâmaliptî (Tamlook), he took ship for Ceylon, whence by sea to Java—failing to make Canton—direct to the modern German settlement of Kiao Chou in Shan Tung. Thus the whole Buddhist and Indian mystery was cleared up, and, apart from China, where Taoism and Confucianism still held the intellectual fort, all High Asia was found to be Buddhist. Moreover, the faith had now been carried to Corea, and thence to Japan.

Up to this time there had been little trace of religious persecution in any part of China. The claims of the rival cults had usually been weighed in a philosophic spirit. Take, for instance, the views of the distinguished southern statesman, Ku Hwan, who, in the second half of the fifth century, served the Sung and Ts'i dynasties (Nanking) just when the Toba Tartars (a kind of Mongol), having destroyed or subdued the conflicting Tibetan and normal elements, had firmly settled themselves on the throne of North China. His biography says that he was fond of the Hwang Ti and Laocius doctrines, and also versed in the *yin-yang* philosophy. He wrote a work entitled "The Question of Barbarian or Chinese," in which is repeated, but not very seriously, the tradition of Laocius finding his way to India, and himself suggesting Buddhism. He says: "whilst Taoism is simple, concise, obscure, and repellent to all but the highly cultured, Buddhism is ornate, prolix, gushing, and seductive to the ignorant classes. Whilst Taoism and Confucianism concern themselves with social conditions, in Buddhism one leaves aside the natural social ties altogether, and shaves the head. Taoism is purely Chinese, and not at all suited to the barbarian mind; Buddhism is foreign, and runs counter to many Chinese principles."

Here he makes a further remark of importance, considering that it was written before the end of the fifth century, and in view of foreign attempts to shift dates further back:

"Taoism we have had with us over 800 years, for it developed when the Chou dynasty split up into East and West (B.C. 425), whereas Buddhism began with the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220).

Just at this time the Toba Emperor in the north (the dynasty had now abandoned Tartar ways and become quite Chinese) was encouraging Taoism, which now underwent its first serious revival under its modified or religious form. One K'ou K'ien-chï (of the south) professed to have received the Taoist commandments from the Spirit Above through an angel or supernatural descendant of Laocius; moreover, he was an ardent hater of Buddhism, and even claimed for himself the spiritual succession as Taoist "Pope." A distinguished Chinese statesman and antiquarian named Ts'ui Hao, who expressed his contempt even for the "mischievous unnatural twaddle" of the comparatively pure Sancius form of Taoism, endeavoured to dissuade the monarch from erecting a "worshipping area" suitable for the later and more corrupt ceremonies; he still more strongly objected to Buddhism, asking: "Why should we worship this Tartar god?" The very name of the reign of this emperor (corresponding to 440-451) was taken from the new "commandments." Later on, however, he was induced to encourage Confucianism, and he issued an edict forbidding the wealthy, under pain of death, from keeping either private *s'ramaṇa* or private Taoist "wizards" on their premises. In 446, his active minister having proved to him that Buddhist temples had become houses of debauchery, the Emperor ordered a massacre of all *s'ramaṇa* in his dominions, and the burning of all *Hu* or "Tartar" (here meaning Sanskrit, Pali, and Kharoshthi) books and Buddhist images. The heir-apparent, however, was still a believer, and with his connivance most of the priests, books, and images evaded destruction. Ts'ui Hao was himself executed in 450 for having disclosed in a history (at once destroyed) too much of the barbarous origin of the Tobas. Another Toba emperor, great-grandson of the above, abdicated in 471 in order to give his mind to the studies of Buddhism and Hwang-Lao. Meanwhile the ephemeral southern dynasties of Sung, Ts'i, and Liang were becoming more and more intensely Buddhist, and priests from South India had a hospitably warm reception at the Nanking court. In 499 the new Toba emperor turned to Buddhism once more; there were 13,000 monasteries in his dominions, and 3000 western bonzes in his capital alone (modern Ho-nan Fu). The Empress, his wife, despatched the celebrated envoy Sung Yün to the Cabul Valley in order to secure more *sûtras*: he went over much of Fah Hien's old ground, but did not cross the Indus; at (modern) Wakhan, Kapiça, Chitrâl, Peshâwur, etc., he found the Indo-Scythians ruling under the new name of Eptal. The founder (502-549) of the Liang dynasty in the south was a very learned man, but a Buddhist bigot. He caused a tremendous commotion among the Confucianists by prohibiting the ancient sacrifices of animals and flesh, substituting vegetables, "because it was cruel to take life." He himself surrendered his person to the disciplines; besides being a strict vegetarian at all times and a regular faster, he even abandoned the imperial robes in favour of a priestly cowl, mounting the pulpit and expounding the Nirvâna Sûtra with his own royal voice. "His ministers and people followed him like an avalanche; they cut their bodies and allowed the blood to sprinkle the ground, or even used the blood as ink for copying the *sûtras*. The *s'ramaṇa* used to hang themselves up by iron hooks, keep a thousand lamps alight, and sit a whole day and night rigid and motionless. From ancient times Buddha had never before been worshipped with such absolute devotion." The founder (557-559) of the Ch'ên dynasty which succeeded the Liang at Nanking also submitted to the vows; his successors surrendered their persons, and the last monarch actually "sold himself to Buddha" as a slave. Meanwhile the northern empire was going from bad to worse; to escape conscription the people became nominal *s'ramaṇa*; the monasteries and religious establishments ran up to 30,000, and by the year 530 there were 200,000 bonzes and nuns. The Hiung-nu tribe newly known as "Turk" now appeared on the scene; the northern Chinese empire split up in two, one supported by the Turks, the other by the nomad Joujan (Gibbon's Geougen[1]) from whose suzerainty the Turks had rebelled, destroying the last of their masters in the year 556. The Joujan rulers are mentioned as being subject to Buddhist influences as early as 508, the Turkish Khan about 575; their allies of North China were both deeply, if fitfully, Buddhistic; in 574, however, the Emperor of the western one (at Si-an Fu) fixed the precedency of Confucianism over Taoism, and of Taoism over Buddhism, but ended by "abolishing" the two last—for the first time in China's history; all books and images were destroyed, and all bonzes and Taoist priests had to return to lay life. After conquering his eastern rival in 577, this foolish monarch abdicated in 579, celebrating the event by reintroducing images of Buddha and Laocius; he gave a grand entertainment in which his deified self sat "facing south" between the two gods; thus Laocius had at last become a vulgar "idol" instead of a Spartan philosopher. In 580 Buddhism and Taoism were formally reintroduced.

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[1] Gibbon, following the lead of Deguignes, identifies these with the Avars, and Chavannes has also accepted this interpretation, which, however, is almost impossible from every point of view.

In 581 the remaining northern empire was suppressed by one of its Chinese generals, who founded the powerful dynasty of Sui, passing on to conquer the southern empire in 589, and thus to reunite all China once more. The new dynasty favoured Buddhism; any one was permitted to take orders; subscriptions were opened for books and images; bonzes, nuns, and Taoist priests formed part of imperial processions, and were feasted by the Emperor. But, like the Ts'in dynasty which had united China in B.C. 221, this Sui dynasty was too hasty and too eager to endure long. The second emperor, a sort of Chinese Caligula, had heard through the Turks of the Franks and Corea; he made efforts to get envoys through to the Byzantine empire and India; sent envoys to Siam (now partly in the Ménam Valley); punished Corea for coquetting with the Turks; and kept himself so constantly and restlessly under the lime-light of publicity that his discontented courtiers at last got rid of him, making way for the great imperial house of T'ang, which was founded upon the ruins. As Mazdéism, Manicheism, Nestorianism, and possibly Islam, all put in religious claims shortly after this, it will be more convenient to trace the further vicissitudes of Buddhism in China under these separate heads. In the year 615 there were over 100,000 bonzes and nuns in the Sui empire.

The experiences of Buddhism in China during the 300 years' rule of the T'ang dynasty (618-908) will therefore be found described in the chapters on Manicheism and Nestorianism, which two religions were to a certain extent confused with, and, in a measure, shared the fate of Buddhism, of which, partly with Manichean connivance, they were vaguely considered "outside" or schismatical forms. During the half century which elapsed before (960) the Sung dynasty reunited the greater part of China, the whole empire was split up into almost as many ephemeral dynasties as there were provinces, the extreme northern part being meanwhile in the hands of the Cathayan Tartars.

During this wretched period of anarchy some of the so-called emperors, whether pure Chinese reigning in the south and west, or hybrid-Turkish reigning in Central China, were Buddhomaniacs; or others, again, discouraged the growth of monasteries: meanwhile the more or less barbarous Cathayans decreed the establishment of Confucian temples, Buddhist monasteries, and Taoist shrines impartially; and, like the Japanese of that day, adopted Chinese religions along with other Chinese culture; the Emperor who died in 1056 was both a Taoist and a Buddhist admirer; but the universal war and accompanying misery was too great all over China to permit of men's minds paying much attention to spiritual affairs; religion was a court luxury. The great literary dynasty of Sung (960-1260) which reigned, first south of the Yellow River, and then (1127) south of the Yangtsze River, whilst the Cathayans, Nüchêns, and Mongols successively ruled in North China, seems to have been perfectly tolerant to all religions, whilst patronising none. Only one Sung emperor (1100-1126) was a Buddhomaniac, and he was carried off to Manchuria by the Nüchên Tartars, who also conquered the Cathayan empire the same year. On the whole, Buddhism under the Sung family seems to have been gently discouraged, but without aggressive energy, or any thing whatever in the shape of harshness and persecution. Confucianism, on the other hand, reached its acme of development. The philosopher Chu Hi

(1130-1200), after first, during his youth, studying with ardour the doctrines of Buddhism and Taoism, at last abandoned these heterodox systems as being valueless, and threw himself heart and soul upon the work of Confucian exegesis, which, already for a century back, had occupied the best energies of the most learned and statesmanlike Chinese minds. Paternal government and social order were his chosen mottoes, and their cardinal points in the Confucian doctrine he applied to all the practical administrative questions of the day. Naturally this purely social and political view of Confucianism was, and has ever since been, viewed with extreme favour by that and each successive dynasty; and to this day Confucianism, as interpreted and coloured by Chu Hi, is as much the Orthodox Church of China as the Greek Church, developed under Peter the Great's direction by the Holy Synod, is the Orthodox Christianity of Russia; that is, it is a mere political tool.

On the whole, the legislation of the Nüchên Tartars (early Manchus) was rather anti-Buddhist; but they do not appear to have concerned themselves much with religion of any kind, except in so far as it could be made subservient to political ends; the Manchu mind seems particularly well capacitated for taking an objective and detached view of all religion. The Mongol conqueror, Genghis Khan, showed an inclination for pure Taoism, but his wars left him no time to decide personally upon a religion evidently beyond his intellectual calibre.

His decrees were issued under the protection of *Mengkê Tengri*, or "Eternal Heaven"; yet he officially empowered a Chinese Taoist recluse to take charge of *all* religions in China. Under the head of Roman Catholicism some remarks will be made about what his successors Ogdai, Kayuk, and Mangu did: the bucolic Mongol mind soon fatigued of pure philosophy, and sought congenial refuge in coarse Tantric worship, seasoned with gross indulgence. Kublai Khan, even before he came to the throne in 1260, had already fallen under the influence of the Tibetan *lama* Pagspa, whom he subsequently constituted State Hierarch and head of the whole Buddhist Church. Pagspa's younger brother, Ilinchin or Rintchen, succeeded to the honour in 1274, and in 1280 there was yet another successor. Buddhism reached during the Mongol dynasty an extravagant height in court influence, and the "commands" of the Hierarch even ran concurrently with the decrees of the Khan; Pagspa was often accommodated with a side seat next to Kublai in full public durbar. On one occasion at least (1281), the Emperor arranged for a polemical tournament between Buddhist and Taoist priests, the loser to accept the victor's religion. The Buddhists gained the day, and the unfortunate Taoist disputants, seventeen in number, were ordered to accept the Buddhist tonsure on the spot; moreover, 270 old Buddhist monasteries, then in the possession of the Taoists, were restored to the bonzes, and an order was issued for the destruction of all Taoist literature in the empire except the original pure classic of Lao-tsz. This exception, made 1800 years after Lao-tsz' disappearance, emphasises the unbroken reverence for the pure doctrine, the genuineness of the book, and the abyss separating vulgar from pure Taoism. These drastic measures in favour of the Buddhists brought forth a strong remonstrance from the Mussulman Aisie, who will be mentioned again farther on in this work in connection with the subject of Islam. The worst form of corrupt Tantric Buddhism, coupled with every form of lust and abuse on the part of the bonzes, seems to have had a free run in China, and more especially at court, throughout the Mongol dynasty, most of the monarchs of which were to the last moment abject slaves of the priesthood. As a Chinese work says:—

> "The high esteem for the Buddhist faith shown by the Mongol dynasty produced corresponding greed and licence on the part of the bonzes, whose wealth in property of all kinds exceeded that of the imperial princes and royal personages. The domineering use they made of their power was greater than that of the most powerful princes and the most arrogant ministers; they meddled in matters of State and squandered the wealth of the empire. It has been said, indeed, of the Mongol empire that 'it perished half through bonzes,'—which ought to be a salutary warning to others."

When Marco Polo speaks of "idolaters," no doubt he refers to Buddhists—a name he never once mentions.

The Ming dynasty (1368-1644) seems to have been the most successful of all Chinese dynasties in relegating religion of all kinds to a proper obscurity so far as interference in State matters goes. The rulers of this house, following the example of the distinguished founder, who was himself an ex-Buddhist priest, made a point, however, of humouring and conciliating the hierarchy of Tibet; not concealing their motive, which was anxiety to avoid the religious complications which had given so much trouble to China under the T'ang (618-908) and Mongol (1206-1367) dynasties. The third emperor (1425-1435) said:—

"It is only human nature to desire long life. But who ever heard of spiritual beings in connection with the long reigns of our [semi-historical] ancient kings? After them the First Emperor (B.C. 210) and Han Wu-ti (B.C. 100) searched in turn for immortality. The Liang emperor [died of grief, 549] and Sung emperor [carried off by the Tartars, 1126] got nothing for their prayers. I am fain to sigh with despair when I see that in our own day men are just as superstitious as ever."

The Ming emperor who was reigning (1521-1566) when the first Portuguese reached Peking "caused to be burnt all the Buddhist sanctuaries in the palace precincts, together with hundreds, and even thousands, of gold-printed books and images of Buddha. All the relics of Buddha in the shape of bones and teeth were thrown away, almost without an exception."

None of the Manchu emperors has ever shown the slightest affection for or belief in Buddhism; the two first might have been Christians if the Jesuits and the Popes had been more cautious; the third was somewhat of a Taoist mystic, but his son K'ien-lung got rid of all the alchemists and charlatans who had practised on his father's credulity with their degenerate Taoism the instant he came to the throne. Since then Buddhism and Taoism (*i.e.* the corrupt later Taoism) have been contemptuously and good-naturedly tolerated as popular requirements. Pure Taoism is still revered.

CHAPTER V

FIRE-WORSHIP AND MANICHEISM

Shocking impressions left on the Chinese mind by Tartar religious practices.—Enumeration of marriage, funeral, and other rites.—Early Corean and Japanese religious notions. — Gradually increasing knowledge in China of the religious customs of the nations on the great Asiatic high roads.—Introduction of a new Chinese word to signify "Heaven-spirit (of foreigners)."—Indications of early *Terzai*, or Christians, in the Samarcand region.—Fire-worship widely extended.—Polyandry among the later Indo-Scythians or Eptals. — Doubtful Buddhism in Persia itself.—Development of religion in the Transoxiana region subject to the Western Turks.—Wars between the Turks and Persia.—Establishment of Mazdéan and Manichean temples in the Chinese capital.—Flight of a Persian prince to China.—Chinese confusion of the two Persian religions with Nestorianism, and of all three with Buddhism.—Chinese definition of Manichean tenets.—Tesh, the One-eyed, sends a mathematician from Tokhâra to discuss religion.—The Ouigours admit Manicheism into Tartary; they obtain permission to extend the religion into Central China.—Indebtedness of the Chinese to the Ouigours, who were protectors of Manicheism.—Object probably to provide religious services for Persian traders coming by sea.—Manicheans act as diplomatists in arranging diplomatic marriages between Ouigour and Chinese princely pairs.—Ouigours burn the most ancient Buddhist monastery. — At least seven Manich monasteries in China.—The Kirghiz crush the Ouigour pov ; *vae victis* for the Manichean sectaries.—Persecution of ier religions at the same time. — Disappearance of Manichei from China.—Continues for several centuries in Ouigour land.

In considering how the Persian religions found entry into China, we must first examine the impressions which the observances of the Tartars had left upon the early Chinese mind: most of these were shocking. For instance, the Hiung-nu (ancestors of the Turks) despised and neglected the aged, used personal names without scruple, and married their own mothers (except the natural mother); all in opposition to the Duke of Chou's exogamic and *tabu* principles. The first really historical *Jenuyeh* (Khagan) of whom the Chinese had cognizance murdered his own father, and jokingly offered to marry the widowed Empress of China (B.C. 190). These Chinese Scythians wore no mourning, and used to turn their enemies' skulls into drinking bowls; such bowls were also used in solemn treaties, when the parties had to drink the blood of a white horse sacrificed for the occasion with a special scimitar (as is mentioned of Herodotus' Scythians too). On the other hand, some customs were like those of the Chinese; the official worship of the sun in the morning and the moon in the evening; the new year's assembly at the Court Shrine; the grand meeting in the fifth moon at "Dragon City"; the three annual sacrifices to the Spirit of Heaven on these two occasions, and also in the ninth moon when the ceremony of riding round and shooting at a willow bush took place; and the burial of slaves or handmaids with distinguished dead. Coffins were in use.

Of the more easterly nomads (lying between the Tunguses proper and the Turks, and apparently corresponding to the later Mongols) some other customs are mentioned which may or may not have been common to other races. The mother was considered the fountain of kinship, and was always safe from personal injury; whilst a father or elder brother might be killed with comparative impunity, having no one in the shape of kinsmen to avenge them. Wives taken over by step-sons, younger brothers, or uncles reverted to their first husbands in the next world. Instead of using medical or surgical remedies in times of sickness, they invoked the spirits of Heaven, Earth, Mountain, and Valley for relief. At the funeral wakes (which in many respects strongly resemble the modern Manchu and Corean ceremonies) arrangements were made to escort deceased's soul to a certain mountain if possible, without incurring the obstruction of evil spirits. In addition to nature worship, sacrifice was offered to the *manes* of distinguished chieftains. Eating and drinking were preceded by thank-offerings and libations. As, on getting the upper hand, these easterly tribes dug up and desecrated the tombs of the first-mentioned and more westerly Scythians, it is evident that burial places were held sacred.

The northernmost of the Corean tribes worshipped Heaven at the end of the year, amidst feasting, rejoicings, and general clemency. Cadets took over elder brother's wives, and criminals were fed up or kept in stock for burying with the dead. Farther south the Coreans proper sacrificed to the spiritual powers, the gods of the land, and certain stars; in the tenth moon they worshipped Heaven. In both cases the ancient worship was preserved after the introduction of Buddhism. A little further north, on the coast, to the worship of Heaven in the tenth moon was added the cult of the tiger, which suggests some link of connection with the still existing bear-worship of the Ainos (North Japan). In the true peninsula (of modern Corea), the sacrifices to the Spirit of Heaven were more organised and elaborate, and there seems to have been a sanctuary or Alsatia connected with it. The early Japanese do not appear to have had any religious ideas deserving special mention; but, like most of the Corean and Eastern Pacific groups, they evidently studied the arts of divination. Even Confucius did this, and it seems that most of the Tartar races did so too.

It will be seen that there was nothing whatever in the above practices, so far as they were novel, to attract the respect or imitation of the Chinese: where the customs did not clash with their own notions, the more cultured nation, in recording them, had no call to make a change: where, as in most cases, the foreign practice seemed barbarous, self-complacency had all the more reason to be thankful in a Pharisaic spirit. Buddhism, with its vast spiritual literature, had enough difficulty to make headway in intellectual China; not to speak of Tartar, Corean, and Japanese grossness, unredeemed by even the faintest knowledge of letters—beyond a smattering of Chinese. After the two spurts of comparatively intimate intercourse with High Asia, which were really limited to about fifty years during the first century B.C. and fifty years during the first century A.D., the political influence of China practically disappeared from the West; and nothing very new concerning the religious notions of foreigners transpired until the middle of the fifth century, when, after considerable hesitation, the Toba Tartar emperors of North China decided to re-open relations—of course by land—with Turkestan and beyond. Meanwhile Buddhism, as already shown, had already obtained a firm footing all over Asia, from the Indus, Cabul Valley, and Oxus, to the Pacific Ocean. The southern or purely Chinese dynasties had a monopoly of Buddhism, mixed with S'ivaism, coming by sea. But there are, about now, growing indications that other religious notions are beginning to attract attention in China. Thus of (modern) Harashar it is stated that the serving of the Spirit of Heaven is practised concurrently with Buddhism; that there was a written character in use "similar to the Brahman"; and that there were great Buddhist fasts and "walks" or fêtes on the eighth day of the second moon and the eighth day of the fourth moon. The dead were first burnt and then buried; mourning lasted seven days. Turfan (modern) was also a place where the worship of the Spirit of Heaven existed together with Buddhism. Passing on to the first half of the sixth century, we find the Joujan Tartars, two of whose Khagans bore purely Hindoo names, cultivating the Spirit of Heaven along with Buddha, and trying at a solemn function to recover from Heaven a young prince who was supposed to have died, and whose voice was heard (through a piece of priestly hocus-pocus) explaining to the anxious family his position in Heaven. One of the Eptal states (corresponding to the Chitrâl of to-day) did not believe at all in Buddha's Law, but abided by the "serving of the gods": the envoy Sung Yün (515-517) tried in vain to reach this place. The practice of the Persians was to worship the Fire Spirit and the Spirit of Heaven; their written character was different from the "Hu" (a vague word for "Tartar" and "Indian" taken together); the dead are exposed, and funerals are looked after by a pariah class who live outside, and sound bells when they enter the city. Mourning lasts a month; the sixth moon is the first of the year, and there are great fêtes on the seventh of the seventh moon and first of the twelfth. On the twentieth of the first moon, besides, every one sacrifices to ancestors. In (modern) Samarcand they serve Buddha and write in "Hu" character; but there are also ancestral state sacrifices in the sixth moon, and all the other sub-states assisted at them: there is preserved a "Hu" code, placed in the *hien*[1] shrine, and it is from this that criminal or penal decisions are taken.

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[1] It is around this specially introduced and quite new Chinese

There can be no question of Islam as yet, for the above all refers to the sixth century at the very latest. Khoten is described at length and in detail as being purely Buddhist; but a place near it (modern Borasan) is pointed out where "tradition says Laocius converted the Hu, and himself became Buddha." Kashgar, Kuché, and Tokhâra are Buddhist. Udjâna "mostly so"; but the "Brahman Hu" are there the upper caste—probably alluding to S‘ivaïc or Brahmanic admixtures. A state hereditarily governed by a woman, in the Tibeto-Kashmir region, was given to demon (Asura) worship. A state belonging to the Samarcand system, apparently Ishtîkhan, south of the Zarafshan River, worships the *Têh-sik* Spirit; "and the various countries eastward from the West Sea all venerate and serve it; this spirit has a gold image 15 feet high, and every day thousands of people are fed on the camels, horses, and sheep sacrificed to it." In another state, 230 miles south of Bamyân, there were "many lewd worships. In the Ts‘ung-ling (Hindoo Koosh) Mountains there are some who obey the Spirit of Heaven, with exceedingly showy forms, a thousand worshippers appearing daily; in front of the shrine is the dorsal bone of a huge fish, through which a cavalier can ride." A state which

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word *kien*, originally intended to mean "the Heaven Spirit (of the Tartars)" that most of the ambiguities in the Persian religions congregate. Even the above-mentioned "Fire Spirit" of Persia is, in one of the histories of this period, written "Fire *kien* Spirit" in exactly the same specific connection.

seems to be Eptal proper (modern Kunduz), serves the Spirit of Heaven and the Spirit of Fire. They go outside the door every day to worship the Spirit before eating. They are rather short of women, and therefore practise polyandry; have no writing of their own, but use Hu writing, on parchment, in their dealings with Hu: the Eptal country adjoins Persia to the west; and the chapter of history recording this (which, however, is a doubtful one, and apparently based not on travel but on hearsay), adds that Persia "has two or three hundred Buddhist monasteries outside its city," and that in the year 530, it sent a Buddha's tooth to China. This can scarcely be true of true Sassanide Persia, but may be true of some easterly Persian (or Eptal) province.

From the above it will be seen that, although up to the end of the sixth century there is no mention of any Western religion except Buddhism in China proper, or of any other literary religion among the Tartars, Tibetans, or other north-eastern nations, there is specific mention of fire-worship in Persia, and in the Eptal dominions which engaged in such prolonged and bloody wars with the Sassanides. The mention of fire-worship nearer to China is not determinate; but there is evidence of some other religion, perhaps of several; and the unexplained *Têh-sih* is quite etymologically compatible with the *Terzai* (Christians and other non-fire-worshippers) of Persia. Finally, the Tartars had, from the beginning, never been without their Spirit of Heaven. It is recorded in Toba history that the empress who sent Sung Yün to the Cabul Valley for Buddhist books, made a special exception of the "Hu Spirit of Heaven" when, during a wave of religious repression in North China, it was a question of persecuting inconvenient beliefs. Chinese history knows nothing whatever in detail about the sanguinary wars between Persia and the Eptals which took place in the fifth and sixth century; still less of the religious struggles which then convulsed Persia, and of the rivalry there of the Nestorians, Catholics, Mazdéans, and Mazdekans. But enough has been said to show that the ground was fully prepared in China for the import of new doctrines.

The Turks—for so the predominant Hiung-nu began to be called after the year 550—possessed the religious customs of most Tartars; tents facing east; sun worship, soothsayers, funeral wakes; service with water of the Spirit of Heaven; gashing of the face by way of mourning. Mention is further made of a hill consecrated to the Spirit of the Earth. No sooner had the Turks annihilated the power of the Supreme Khagan of the Joujan, than they proceeded to crush and annex that of the Eptals, which brought them at once into collision with Persia, and thus into relation with Byzantium. The Chinese had only just begun to hear vaguely of the Western Empire as Fuh-lin, and knew nothing of these Turko-Roman relations: however, the Greek authors, writing of the Turks of the sixth century, tell us how they honour fire, venerate air and water, and celebrate the Earth; but only actually worship the Author of Heaven and Earth, to whom they sacrifice horses, cattle, and sheep; and, moreover, they possess soothsayers. The Chinese histories state that the Turks cremated at least some of their dead, specifically alluding to a Turkish royal funeral in China. Dogs from Fuh-lin were brought as presents to China—presumably by the Turks—by way of Turfan as early as 622; and two or three years after this the Chinese found the Khagan of the Western Turks patronising the Hindoo priest Prabhâ-Karamitra, who himself visited China in 626. In view of all this we need not be surprised to read in the local chronicles of Si-an Fu, the then Chinese capital of Ch'ang-an, that "in the year 621 a Hu-*hien* temple had been erected, served by an establishment of *Sapao* (Sâbâ), or Hu ritualists, whose duty it was to manage matters concerning the Hu-*hien* Spirit." An editorial note suggests that this *hien* Spirit is probably the same as the Hu-*t'ien* (Heaven) Spirit protected by the Toba empress. A Chinese work on Buddhism says that in the year 631 a *muh-hu* named Holuh brought to the imperial palace at Ch'ang-an the religion of the *hien* Spirit, in consequence of which the Emperor authorised the construction of a Ta-ts'in temple. "As to this Fire *hien* Spirit, once there was in Persia, a certain Su-lu-chï (Zoroaster), who promoted its worship." The celebrated Buddhist pilgrim Hüan Chwang, who in 630 visited the Khagan of the Turks at his encampment near Issyk-kul, found that the West Turks there, in spite of Prabhâ-Karamitra's efforts, were still sufficiently observant of fire-worshipping principles to abstain from sitting down on inflammable wood; the Khagan spoke contemptuously of what he called the black people of "Indica," but he furnished the pilgrim notwithstanding with an escort as far as Kapiça. A change had taken place in the religion of the states under Western Turk influence. In 635 the King of Kashgar had married a Turkish princess, and "it was the custom of the country to worship the *hien* Spirit." Khoten was also under Turkish influence, and worshipped both the *hien* Spirit and Buddha. The King of Samarcand had, previously to this date, married the daughter of Tardu Khagan, who is actually mentioned under that name by the Greek authors: the Spirit of Heaven was worshipped here too; yet in one passage it is said: "They honour the Buddhist religion, and sacrifice to the *hien* Spirit." But the strongest evidence of all comes from the official Chinese history of Persia;

> "They sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, the Sun, Moon, Water, and Fire. The different Hu people of the various Western States accept all their rules for the worship of *hien* (or, as a second history words it, 'for the service of the fire *hien*'). The Khagan (the one just mentioned) carried war into Persia, killed the King Khosroû, and sent a resident to watch his successor Shiroë. But the

Persians after his death were unwilling to recognise Turkish supremacy, and went to bring back his son Ardishir who had taken refuge in Fuh-lin (Syria, or other parts of the Byzantine Empire). Yezdegerd succeeded him, and in 638 sent envoys to China. Finally he was attacked by the Arabs and killed."

The history goes on to explain how Yezdegerd's son, Piruz, took refuge in Tokhâra, and sought assistance from China; after many years of vain attempts to recover his throne, Piruz, through China's assistance, returned to die in the Chinese capital; but in the year 677 he obtained as a solace from the Emperor permission to establish a Persian temple at Ch'ang-an (Si-an Fu). In the year 706 the site was wanted for other purposes, so the Persian temple was transferred to a spot just west of the *hien* temple. "Amongst the Persian functionaries are the *moh-hu-t'an* (*magupatân*, or Magi)." This last statement appears in Chinese history at least a century before Piruz' arrival in China to set up a temple served by Magi. In the year 694 a Persian, bearing a name which sounds like Fertadan, arrived in China from Ta-ts'in on the Western Sea, bringing holy books upon the Dual Principles (of Mâni).

The sum total of the above evidence, deficient though it may be in precision, is that there were two Persian religions connected with fire-worship; Piruz' religion and temple were presumably the orthodox Mazdéism; and, if so, the other religion and temple which are several times actually called

Manichean, is likely to have been always so. It is also abundantly clear that it worked its way to China through the Oxus states subject to the Western Turks, having already existed there whilst those states formed part of the Eptal dominions at secular war with Persia; the Northern or Eastern Turks never showed traces of having admitted any Persian religion. As we shall shortly see, the Chinese writers, besides being somewhat vague as to the distinction between Mazdéism and the artful composition of it and Christianity propagated by Mâni in 270-277, were also inclined at times to confuse both with Nestorianism, and to regard all three as heretic or "outer road" forms of Buddhism. Moreover, the very Chinese word for Mâni is borrowed from the earlier Chinese word used for the Buddhist *mani* or "spotless" (as in the words *Om mani padmê hûm* of Tibetan Buddhism). This confusion therefore is scarcely to be wondered at when we reflect that Buddhism reached China from India *viâ* the Indo-Scythians of the Cabul Valley and Tokhâra, whilst all the other religions came by way of the same Indo-Scythians (in their later designation of Eptal), *viâ* exactly the same routes. It is further to be noticed that all persons from Syria or Europe were bound to come to China either through Persia or through the Turks; and as both these powers were contesting with the Roman Empire possession of the Upper Euphrates, Black Sea, and Caspian regions, it was difficult for the

Chinese to say, on information gathered, where Persia and "Turkey" ended, and where Ta-ts'in or Fuh-lin began. Contemporary early Chinese histories are by no means lacking in definitions of Manichean tenets; for instance, standard history tells us that "they dine at sundown, drink water, and eat savoury, rejecting kumiss." There is some doubt about the correct reading of this ninth century passage, but the religious works of the eleventh century make things clearer. Thus:

> "As to the Dual Principles, men and women do not intermarry; they go about common business in silence; take no medicine for sickness; and are buried naked; eat no flesh and drink no wine; sleep during the day and rise in the evening, and believe in using perfumes."

It must be pointed out that Manicheism itself had been reformed by Mazdek, who made a convert of the Persian King Kobad. As the Chinese actually mention this King by name in 518-520, and also mention in 553 (but not by name) his son and successor Khosroû, who in 533 massacred Mazdek and 80,000 of his converts, it is of course possible that all Chinese and Tartar Manicheans were exiled Mazdekians, whose tenets would be all the easier for them to accept. Thus Mazdek prescribed fire-worship; allowed all sexual unions, irrespective of kinship; but permitted no meat, fat, or any food stronger than vegetables, eggs, milk, and cheese—which, of course, would admit for use articles made of mares' milk, so much consumed by the Tartars in the form of cheeses, wheys, and mixed drinks, fermented or otherwise. The Dualism of Mâni was almost precisely the *yin* and the *yang* of ancient Chinese philosophy; the abstinence and continence had already been introduced by Buddhism, and therefore would not shock Chinese sentiment,—even though Mazdek's disciples had not eased these injunctions down a little. More light will be thrown on this point when we come to discuss the vicissitudes of Nestorianism and Buddhism during the seventh and eighth centuries. Previous to the end of the eighth century, the Mazdéism of a state called Kobâdhiyân (on the Oxus) is fully described, and it is stated that the Arab conquerors were only prevented by timely emanations of fire within the temple from destroying it.

In the year 719 Tesh, King of Jagânyân (north of the Oxus) in Tokhâra, sent a letter to the Emperor of China introducing a great astronomical scholar, and assuring the Emperor that this *mudja* would be pleased to answer any religious questions; it was also begged that a chapel or school—a "system hall"—might be established, where those of the teaching might follow their tenets. It is interesting to know that "Têsch, the One-eyed," Turkish Governor or Viceroy of Tokhâra, has been mentioned, and at this date, by the Mussulman author Tabarî. In the trilingual inscription of Kara-balgassun on the Orkhon, recently discovered by Mr Iadrintseff, mention is made of a "true religion" having been introduced into Ouigour-land, and there is further mention made of *mudja* and their acolytes coming in great numbers to preach the new faith. Unfortunately the inscription is imperfect, and the date doubtful, but other passages in standard history make the way clear for us. Thus in 766-779 Manichean temples were constructed at places corresponding to the modern Ningpo, Yang-chou (opposite Chinkiang), Nan-ch'ang (capital of Kiang Si), and King-chou (the Manchu garrison town of Hu Pêh province). Between 768 and 771 an imperial decree ordered those Ouigours who practised Manicheism to build "Cloud-bright" monasteries. Finally, the Ouigours requested permission in 771 to establish "Cloud-bright" monasteries in the four places above named; the officiating priests wore white caps and garments. Thus the chain of evidence is complete, though each separate link by itself would be doubtful. The power of the Northern or Eastern Turks had been broken in the middle of the eighth century; the Ouigours (a tribe of the northernmost group of Hiung-nu originally known to the Turks and Chinese alike as Tölös) had moved south and occupied the Turkish territory; the Ouigours had in 763-777 rendered valuable assistance to the Chinese against rebels and Tibetan invaders; the same Ouigours had become acquainted with the Manichean doctrine in the two Chinese capitals (the Si-an Fu and Ho-nan Fu of to-day) recovered and pillaged by them; and they had in a way taken the Manichean religion under their official protection. The demand for temples in South China, where there were no Ouigours, was manifestly made at the instance of Persian priests, who wished to serve the Persian traders, at Canton and elsewhere, who had come to China by sea.

The Chinese had much more steady and intimate relations with the Ouigours than they had ever had with the Turks; Chinese princesses were given in marriage to the Khagans, and were fitted out with sumptuous establishments; Chinese princes married Ouigour girls, who visited the imperial court with suites of Ouigour matrons; and emperors took the field side by side with the Khagans; on one occasion an emperor then commanding a Chinese army, even went down on his knees in front of his army in order to beg the royal Ouigour general to refrain from plunder; and, by the way, it is curious to notice that on this occasion the Ouigours set fire to the historical White Horse Buddhist Monastery, in which the richer classes of Ho-nan Fu had sought refuge from their licence. During the marriage negotiations of 806 some Manichean priests, who, it is distinctly stated, then enjoyed great and permanent political influence at the Ouigour court, surprised the Chinese by appearing in the capacity of official envoys for the first time; they took advantage of their favoured position to connive at various rogueries with the Chinese merchants in the metropolitan bazaar: this last passage evidently alludes to the practice of smuggling girls away with the caravans. In the following year they applied for and obtained permission to establish Manichean monasteries in T'ai-yuan Fu (Shan Si), Ho-nan Fu (Ho Nan), and Ch'ang-an (Shen Si); but it is highly probable that these three, together with the four of 779, formed the total in China, for a temple inscription of that date (810-820) says: "Of the three barbarian monasteries, Mâni, Ta-ts'in (Nestorian), and *hien* Spirit (Mazdéan) there are not more in the whole empire than you would find of S'âkya (Buddhist) monasteries in one small city." In 840 the rising Kirghiz power overwhelmed the Ouigours, and the defeated tribes, having sought refuge in China, rewarded the kindness of the Chinese in affording them asylum and relief by shortly afterwards revolting. After the Ouigours had been broken up once more by the Chinese, the latter decided to do away also with their indirect or Manichean influence at the two capitals, and in 843 a decree ordered both the confiscation of their property, and the burning of all Manichean books and images on the public road. The well-known tendency of Manicheans to accommodate themselves to the religion of the country in which they were—their adoption in the West, for instance, of the divinity of Christ—may account for these unexplained images; just as the Buddhist Mahês'vara was borrowed by the Mazdéans, or, at all events, by the "Western Hu," to represent their "Spirit of

Heaven." In that very year (843) four Manichean priests assisted the loyal portion of the Ouigours to negotiate for the safe return of the Chinese princess, who had been captured and recaptured by various contending parties; yet a second decree ordered the suppression of all the Manichean monasteries within the empire, in consequence of which over seventy nuns at the capital perished; those living amongst the Ouigours were banished to remote provinces, where the greater part died. Two years later 2000 Ta-ts'in *muh-hu* (i.e. *mogh*, or Magi), fire-*hien* (Mazdéans), etc., were compelled to revert to the lay life. One reading has *muh-hu-pah* (*mag-hu-bâd*) instead of "*muh-hu* fire *hien*," and a third has *muh-hu hien* priests; but these discrepancies do not affect the general sense. Though Manicheans henceforth disappear from China, they seem to have continued to exist in Ouigour-land; for in the year 951, after the T'ang dynasty had disappeared, the Ouigours sent a Manichean envoy to China (later Chou dynasty). In 961, a Manichean sent some presents from Khoten to the newly-established Sung dynasty; and in 982 the Chinese envoy to the Ouigours of Turfan, then strongly Buddhist, found there a Manichean monastery served by Persian priests.

CHAPTER VI

NESTORIANISM

After struggling with Manicheans in Persia, Nestorians renew the competition in China.—In 638 the Emperor of China formally admits the Nestorians as "Persian bonzes."—Phraseology borrowed from Taoism and Buddhism.—The stone still *in situ* which defines the Christianity of those days.—The Messiah born from a Virgin in Ta-ts'in: the Persian Magi come with offerings.—Shaving of the head.—Historical details strictly corroborated by standard Chinese history.—The first Nestorian, Alopên, arrived in 635.—Nestorian priests called "High Virtues," or "Great Virtues," equal to "Very Reverend." — Many points in the modern Christian doctrine left out.—Close historical proofs of the authenticity of the facts given in the Nestorian stone.—The Syrian inscriptions on the stone corroborate or are corroborated by Chinese or Western evidence.—Competing religions during the T'ang dynasty.—Confucian hostility to Buddhism at the time when Nestorianism flourished.—The Empress of China an ex-nun. — Favours corrupt Buddhism; no evidence that the Nestorians excited any direct hostility.—Religious observances of the Northern Turks.—Confucianist remonstrances against Buddhism.—A good-natured Chinese Emperor now favours all religions.—Manichean opportunities, and Nestorians in favour.—Denunciation of the Buddha's Bone mummery. — Enormous increase in the number of Buddhist monasteries and nunneries. —More persecutions by a Taoist Emperor. — Doubtful if Nestorians were involved.—"Great Virtues" sent to China from India.—Malabar Rites question.—Pope Pius X. and the Malabar mission.

It has already been shown that during the sixth century new religions had appeared all over the Oxus region, and that possibly Christianity was one of them. In any case, the Manicheans, even though they found that it suited their purpose better in the East to pose as Buddhists, had shown themselves in the West as disciples of the Paraclete. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that their rivals the Nestorians, with whom they had been striving so long in Persia, should follow close upon their heels so soon as there was a prospect of success in China. The nominal founder of the great T'ang dynasty abdicated to the real founder, his son, in 627, and in the summer of 638 there appeared the following decree:—

> "*Tao* has no constant name, holiness no constant form; cults are established according to place, for the unobtrusive salvation of the masses. The Persian bonze Alopên has come from afar to submit to Us at Our capital his scriptural cult. Examining closely into the significance of that cult, We find it is transcendental and quiescent; that it represents and sets forth the most important principles of our being, just as much as it tends to the salvation and profit of mankind. It may well be carried over the Empire. The executive will therefore forthwith erect in the I-ning ward of this city a monastery, with twenty-one qualified priests."

Most of the phraseology in this decree is Taoist and Buddhist; and, of course, it could not well be otherwise. The words for "bonze" or "priest" (*sêng* or *saṁgha*), and for "salvation" and "qualified" ("pass over," *i.e.* the abyss or river separating sinful mortals from the happy shores), are particularly Buddhist. On the Chinese map published with the Gazetteer of Si-an Fu, marking the modern changes in the wards of 1300 years ago, the name "Persian Hu monastery" still appears on its proper ancient site.

There is no doubt whatever as to the doctrine taught by Alopên, for the commemorative stone describing the new religion exists almost intact to this day, and many rubbings of it are in the possession of European students. It begins by defining the mysterious attributes of Aloha (Elohim), and then proceeds with a rapid sketch of the Creation as told in the Book of Genesis. But innocent man was exposed to the wiles of Sotan (Satan), whence arose unrest, heresy, and schism. In due course our three-one divided-body, the high and mighty Mi-shïh-a (Messiah) is announced, and a Virgin gives birth to the Holy One in Ta-ts'in (all west of the Euphrates and the Caspian). Persians, noticing the herald star, come with presents. From the Incarnation the account proceeds to the Redemption. Having fulfilled what was written in the "twenty-four books" (as counted by the Babylonian Jews), the Messiah founded an "ineffable three-one new teaching." After confounding the demon and indicating the way to salvation, He ascended into Heaven, leaving behind twenty-seven books (the New Testament) to explain the doctrine. Baptism and the sign of the Cross are next discussed. The followers of this faith shave the crown and allow the beard to grow; keep no slaves, and recognise no distinction of persons; amass no riches; and purify themselves in strict retreat by silence, prayer, and watching. The various other beauties of the doctrine are then pointed out in detail.

The historical sketch which follows the above *exposé de motifs* on the stone explains to us why the original decree styled the new faith a "scriptural cult."

> "Alopên, the High Virtue of Ta-ts'in, arrived in the year 635 at Ch'ang-an (still the divisional name of Si-an Fu) with some true scriptures (the word used for Confucian and Taoist 'classics' and for Buddhist *sûtras*). His books were translated, and he was placed under the care of an eminent statesman (died 648), receiving permission to preach."

The decree of 638 is then quoted, except that it is slightly amplified, that the words "Ta-ts'in State Great Virtue" are substituted for "Persian bonze,"[1] and the words "scripture and images" for "scripture cult." It is added that the Emperor sent his portrait to be hung up in the new monastery. The scribe cites some facts from ancient and contemporary history in connection with the position of Ta-ts'in, and ingeniously works in interpretations of passages five hundred years old, so as to leave the impression that Nestorianism (dates from 431) was in vogue then, as also that the words "High Virtue" or "Great Virtue" were used in the sense of "priest" before A.D. 100. He goes on to say that the next emperor (649-683) created Alopên "Great Lord of the Law, Protector of the State," and that the new religion was preached in ten Chinese provinces. But the usurping dowager-empress (698-700) was unfortunately infatuated by the Buddhists, who committed certain shameless acts; in 712 a contemptible group of literates made sport of true religion. Happily, however, two noble priests from the West—one a head-Buddhist, and the other a "Great Virtue" named Kih-lieh—succeeded in remedying this sad state of affairs. The emperor then reigning (712-756) sent one of his generals (a eunuch, died 762) to place portraits of the five preceding monarchs in the temple. Two Buddhist priests and a Great Virtue from Ta-ts'in were invited to take part, with fourteen others, in an imperial function; and in the succeeding reign (756-762) five more monasteries were sanctioned. The next emperor again (762-779) always made a point of presenting incense and food to the monastery at Christmas-time; in the period 779-805 great favour was shown to the distinguished bonze I-sz who had come to China from Bâdaghîs (near Herat), and had been with our general (died 781) in his campaign against the Ouigours (757-758); this man brought presents of glass-ware and gold-embroidered tapestry. Religion now flourished in China as it had never flourished before, both in the old monasteries and in the numerous new ones; within the memories of the West *tah-so*, there had never been such a brilliant time; but the white-habited *king* (Nestorian) scholars are now in our midst, and it is desirable to commemorate all these facts on stone (dated 781).

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[1] In 745 the then reigning emperor had issued a decree explaining that it had been pointed out to him how Ta-ts'in, and not Persia, was the true place of origin, and ordering that in future the Nestorians should receive the more correct appellation.

Thus the celebrated Nestorian stone, which shortly afterwards disappeared during troublous times amongst the ruins of the city, and was not rediscovered until the year 1623, itself informs us with absolute precision what was the nature of the Christianity introduced, and with what reception it met in China over a course of one hundred and fifty years. It will be noticed that no stress is laid upon damnation, the sacraments, confession, repentance, the sanctity of marriage rites, the Immaculate Conception, the Crucifixion, Passion, Resurrection, life everlasting, and many other things inseparable from the belief of most Christians of the present day. Of course it is very possible that King-tsing, the author of the inscription, endeavoured to compose a record which would not shock Confucian prejudices more than was absolutely necessary, and that he may have deliberately chosen to state only half the truth, leaving out all dogmas involving apparent departure from the ordinary course of nature. It is also likely that, as he was bound (in the absence of any other ready-made phraseology) to draw upon Taoist and Buddhist terms, he felt it prudent to avail himself also of accepted Taoist and Buddhist ideas, so far as they did not clash with his own teaching. Even Manicheism is, or seems to be conciliated; for the "function" of 762 is described in three words signifying "good works" (*siu-kung-têh*) which twice appear in connection with the Manichean functions and functionaries (*kung-têh-shï*) of 843. Besides, the white garments of the *tah-so* alluded to point to a uniformity with the white caps and clothes of the Mâni priests. All the individuals named in the stone inscription are historical. The generals who died in 762 and 781 respectively are as celebrated in Chinese history as Belisarius and Narses are in Byzantine history. The eminent statesman charged to welcome Alopên in 635 had had a large part in establishing the new T'ang dynasty in 618. Even the name of the literary scribe King-tsing has been found within the last few years in a Chinese Buddhist book of date 800. It appears from this book that King-tsing (whose real name was Adam) was a Persian, and that in 786 he was engaged with a Hindoo priest named Prajña in translating *sûtras* from the Hu language into Chinese. But the Hindoo knew neither Hu (Persian) nor T'ang (Chinese), whilst Adam did not understand either the *fam* (Brahm, or the Sanskrit) language or the Buddhist principles. The result was that the Emperor ordered Adam to confine himself to the Mi-shïh-a (Messiah) religion, and Prajña to the *sûtras*. All these marvellous discoveries would possibly have remained sealed mysteries for ever had it not been for the patience and ingenuity of non-Chinese students,—chiefly French or Peninsular Jesuits, and Japanese Buddhists trained to European ways of criticism. Even Kih-lieh has been identified in an encyclopædia of 1013 as a "Great Virtue bonze" sent from Persia to China in 732. The stone itself applies two separate terms, High Virtue and Great Virtue, to Alopên; at first sight a distinction similar to that between "Most" and "Very" Reverend might suggest itself. But both terms are Taoist, and Laocius in turn got them from the ancient "Book of Changes" and Rites of Duke Chou. Even the name of Laocius' *Tao-têh* or Way-Virtue (classic) comes from the venerable "Book of Changes." Great Virtue bonzes were sent to China from Central India in 731, Kashmir in 733, East India in 737, Fuh-lin (Syria) in 719 and 742, and Little Balti in 745; from which it is plain that Buddhism and Nestorianism enjoyed this "reverend" title promiscuously; and we have seen that Adam, the Nestorian, could work as a colleague with Prajña the Buddhist. As to the word *tah-so*, this seems to be the Persian *tarsā*, "a Christian," another form of the word *terzai* which has already been discussed.

Not the least interesting part of the Nestorian inscription is the Syrian part, which has, of course, been translated by competent specialists. The very first Chinese words telling us that "King-tsing composed this" are immediately followed by the Syrian words signifying "Adam, priest, choir-bishop and pope for Sinestan" (China). He signs his name in the same Syrian terms at the end of the inscription, dating it "time of the Patriarch Hananjesu, Catholic Lord, Chief over the Bishops." Even this man has been identified by Renaudot with Hananiechüah, the Nestorian patriarch; moreover, the standard Chinese histories speak of the *Po-to-lih* (Patriarch), or King, of Fuh-lin sending a mission in 643. The Syrian date is: "In the year 1092 of the Greeks, Jabezbujid, Bishop of Kumdan (the Arab name for Si-an Fu), son of Milis of Balkh in Tokhâra, set up this stone." According to Monsig. Casartelli, the Bishop of Salford, *Yasdbôcet* is a well-known Mazdéan name in Pehlvi form, meaning, "God hath delivered."

It will now be convenient to turn back for a moment and enquire how far the competing religions—all four of which, it must be remembered, had come from Transoxiana, and by the same route—managed to hold their own against Taoism and Confucianism. The first emperor (618-627) of the T'ang dynasty was no sooner on the throne than two of his leading statesmen held a disputation touching the merits and demerits of Buddhism, the particular moot-points being renunciation of parentage, celibacy, and withdrawal from lay work and subjection. One, named Fu Yih, said:—

"Buddha was of the Western Regions; his words were mischievous, and he was far away from us. The Han dynasty had, unfortunately, caused the Hu books to be translated, and had by this given a free vent to Buddha's false pretences, thus causing disloyal persons to cut off their hair, and to give a mere second place to their prince and parents; whilst, on the other hand, idle vagabonds donned the cowl in order to avoid the usual forced-labour service. They trump up a system of three inferior transmigrations and six conditions of sentient existence, thus inciting infatuated folk to go on a wild-goose chase after virtue's reward. They fear no prohibitory rules, and are always quite ready to break the laws of their country."

The new Tantra Buddhist power of Tibet was just then beginning to assail the Chinese frontiers (623), and this fact may have added to the alarm. It is evident that the corrupt form of popular Taoism was now organised on separatist principles too, for the result of the Confucianist Fu Yih's denunciations was that the executive was commanded to make a clean sweep of all the bonzes, nuns, and Taoist priests in the empire.

It appears that the supreme test which decided the Emperor was the failure of a Western bonze to "strike the Confucianist dead," as he boasted he could do, by holy incantations: he himself collapsed. Another test was the alleged indestructibility of Buddha's tooth, which, however, was smashed with a piece of antelope horn. The second emperor, who afterwards proved so liberal to the Persian religions, in the year 627 even ordered the execution of persons who should clandestinely become priests or nuns. In the absence of evidence, it is therefore permissible to suppose that the favour shown to Manicheans and Nestorians in 621, 631, and 635-8 was partly in consequence of Fu Yih's campaign, for he died in 639 at the age of eighty-five. On the other hand, when the great Buddhist traveller Hüan Chwang returned from the West in 656, the Emperor gave him a right royal reception, and himself wrote a preface to his book.

There was a strain of Tartar blood in the early T'ang emperors on the maternal side. Possibly this may account for the third monarch having taken his father's concubine out of a Buddhist nunnery to which, as a widow, she had retired in 649. This Emperor is said to have sent a number of foreign bonzes back to India, and to have forbidden monks and nuns from receiving religious adoration from their own parents. A well-known statesman, travelling on circuit in the year 683 in the River Yangtsze region, recommended that the "heterodox places of worship" there, numbering over 1700 in all, should be destroyed; but it is not on record that any of these were of the Persian group, or that the recommendation was actually carried out. It is on record, however, that Great Virtue Bonzes had (about 710) unauthorisedly established a monastery at Ting Chou (between Peking and T'ai-yüan Fu. The usurping dowager mentioned in the Nestorian stone is none other than the

Buddhist nun, who, on the death of her second husband, assumed the regency, and finally deposed her step-son: she then reigned brilliantly, if corruptly, in her own name. This strange woman soon fell under the scandalous influence of Buddhist priests, one of whom at least was suspected of something more than spiritual intimacy. Another tried to persuade her that she was the Buddhist Messiah, and that through her divine person China now possessed *de jure* the lordship of Djamba Dvîpa (India, Nepaul, etc). She built Buddhist monasteries on a wholesale scale, squandered forced subscriptions upon a gigantic image, and caused great indignation amongst the Confucianists. The statesman last referred to (died 700) remonstrated very strongly, citing as a warning the two first emperors of the Liang dynasty: the Dowager had the good sense to accept his advice, and stop further extravagances. Her foolish step-son, on resuming the Throne in 705, issued commands that every department in the empire should have both a Buddhist and a Taoist temple; fresh bonzes and nuns appeared on every side, and there was no end to the eleemosynary contributions. It was remonstrated that *s'râmaṇêra* were as unable to bear weapons as religious buildings were to stave off the people's hunger. Curiously enough, Bilga Khagan of the Northern Turks was at that very time contemplating a settled life, with towns, and Buddhist and Taoist temples, after the Chinese fashion. His old premier Tunyukuk strongly dissuaded his master from changing the old free nomad habits; "besides, this temple business is meant to teach people kindness and softness, and was never the way to make war and get strong." This incidental remark proves that since the time of T'apur Khagan (572-581), who was converted by a kidnapped *s'ramaṇa* from North China, himself submitted to the disciplines, and at last established a monastery, religion had made no headway amongst the Turks. The ancient Turkish custom was to worship the Spirit of Heaven on the eighth of the fifth moon. Their other customs, superstitions, and religions were much the same as those of the Hiung-nu, their ancestors. Moreover, bilingual stones erected in honour of both Bilga Khan and his minister Tunyukuk have been discovered on the River Orkhon during the past twenty years, an event leading to the resuscitation of the old Turkish alphabet and language. Nothing is said in these inscriptions of any religion or temple except of the ancestral kind. One work of the eighth century says the Turks in their worship of the *hien* spirit have no temples or shrines, but keep figures, fashioned out of felt, in skin bags: they carry these with them for receiving sacrifice at the four seasons, smearing them over with unguent, and sometimes lashing them to a stake.

Yet another prominent official sent up a significant remonstrance. This was the governor of T'ai-yüan Fu (in Shan Si) where, as we have seen, in 807, Manichean temples were introduced. But of course in the year 707 there were no such, and therefore none are mentioned in the remonstrance:—

> "There are disorders on our frontiers, and we are hard put to it for commissariat; whilst, on the other hand, the heavy expenditure on Buddhist monasteries continues to be unbounded. Our ancient princes (see Chapter I.) relied solely upon economy, benevolence, and rectitude for the establishment of a virtuous reputation. But from the Tsin and Sung dynasties (see Chapter IV.) onwards, people have vied with each other in constructing pagodas and temples; whilst, on the other hand, anarchy and dethronements have followed in wearisome succession; all of which results from lavishing the affections on mistaken objects, to the utter misery of the people. I think the funds collected for building should be diverted to the purchase of warlike equipments. We shall thus stay war's alarms for ever, and at the same time make the people prosper. In what better way than this could the 'loving commiseration' and 'universal sympathy' attributed to Buddha be shown?" And another: "Should drought, flood, or Tartar nomads inflict disaster, what good can Buddha do us, even if he be willing?"

In the year 714, notwithstanding, it is recorded that princes and nobles vied with each other in building monasteries and in taking holy orders: rich families and sturdy knaves shaved the head in order to evade the calls of public service. It was represented that

> "Buddhôchinga was unable to preserve the Hiung-nu dynasty, just as Kumârajîva failed to keep alive the Tibetan (see Chapter IV.). Neither the Liang empire in the south nor the Ts'i in the north escaped disaster, in spite of their faith."

It was a *s'ramaṇa* from this same Ts'i who had converted T'apur. The Emperor took this advice, prohibited further building of monasteries, casting of images, or copying of *sûtras* ; 12,000 persons were got rid of; official families were forbidden to consort with bonzes and nuns, and in future such persons had to be certificated.[1] According to the Nestorian stone, this monarch (a Chinese Louis XV. in his profligacy and in his *bien-aimé* qualities) was equally generous to Christians. He had to fly from his capital; for the recovery of his throne he was largely indebted to the Ouigours, to whom he had to give his own daughter in marriage; and it was thus that the Ouigour Manicheans gained further influence in China. This Emperor's successor, who erected five fresh Nestorian monasteries, and sanctioned the building of four Manichean temples in Central China, "erected a preaching platform in the inner palace, turned the palace folk into saints (Bôdhisattva), and his own guards into Vadjrapâni; the very ministers were called upon to do obeisance on their knees."

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[1] The *tu-tieh*, or "salvation licenses," were only abolished by the Manchu Emperor K'ien-lung about 120 years ago. The "Six *Tu*" are the Pâramitâ, or "ways of salvation."

It would seem from the Nestorian stone that Christians enjoyed a short innings of favour about now. It was during the time (808-821) when the Manicheans were taking a leading part in the later Ouigour-Chinese marriage negotiations, that the well-known Buddha's bone episode took place at the Chinese metropolis. The archimandrite (*kung-têh-shï*) of a certain neighbouring Buddhist monastery had, previous to this, prevailed upon the Emperor to honour one of Buddha's finger bones which had, for a long time back, been exhibited in the monastery once in every thirty years, much to the advantage of the harvests and the country's peace. It was now brought with great solemnity to the capital; the Emperor himself went out to meet it, kept it for three days in his private apartments, and sent it round to each of the monasteries in turn. The celebrated statesman Han Yü's masterly philippic upon this piece of mummery is as well known in China as Cicero's denunciation of Cataline is known all over Europe. Han Yü was exiled to South China; his memory to this day is especially green at and near the treaty port of Swatow. In the year 828 the reigning emperor imagined he saw the image of a saint in an oyster he was eating; he therefore issued a manifesto ordering that an image of Avalôkitês'vara should be set up and worshipped in every monastery in the empire. This led eleven years later to the counting of bonzeries and nunneries: there were 44,600 of the former buildings, and 265,000 persons in the latter. The destruction of the Manicheans in 843 seems to have whetted the iconoclastic appetite of the next emperor (brother of his predecessor). There may have been more in it than a mere political desire to get rid of Ouigour influence, for the Emperor had a liking for Taoism; at all events, the Buddhists received even sterner measures.

> "The Emperor, disgusted at the way in which monks and nuns were wasting the substance of the Empire, gave orders that two monasteries should be allowed to remain in each of the capitals — upper and eastern, — with an average allotment of thirty bonzes for each; and that each military centre in the Empire should be allowed one monastery; the said monasteries to be grouped in three grades, with an allotment of bonzes accordingly; and that all other bonzes, and all nuns, should be constrained to revert to lay life. All their real and personal property was confiscated to the State; the building material was utilised for *yamêns* and post-stages. All copper images, bells, and clappers were to be melted down for coin. More than 4600 monasteries were thus destroyed, whilst 260,500 monks and nuns reverted to lay life. Several hundred thousand acres (English) of excellent land were appropriated, including 150,000 male and female slaves."

It is uncertain whether any Nestorians were involved in this trouble, but a work of the twelfth century says: "In 845 the Emperor ordered the

Ta-ts'in *muh-hu* great *hien* and sixty others to revert to lay capacity." It would be difficult to concoct a more ambiguous sentence, for Ta-ts'in is Syria, the Magi are Mazdéan, and "great" *hien* ("great" is probably a misprint for "fire," which hieroglyph closely resembles the other in Chinese) may refer to the seventy Manichean nuns we know to have perished.

Mention has already been made in this chapter of Great Virtue bonzes being sent from India to China; and under the head of "Roman Catholicism" allusion will be made to the Malabar Rites question, of 1606, and to Christian missions from Quilon at just about the time when Mar Sarghiz was founding churches in Chinkiang and Hangchow: in 1328 one Jordanus was, in fact, made Bishop of Columbum in those parts. All this may be lineally connected with the Syro-Chaldean see of Ernaculam, which was detached in 1896 and placed under Bishop Parheparambil, who was this year (1905) on a visit to Pope Pius X. At Puthenpally, within his vicariat, he has a printing establishment, known as the Mar Thoma Sliha Press, which name suggests a lineal descent from St Thomas of Malabar. Since 1846 there has also been an independent Roman Catholic (French) Bishop at Mysore, in which State there are 15,000 native Christians. Careful local enquiry is necessary in order to ascertain if there is any history or trustworthy tradition linking these Christians with the "Great Virtues" of a thousand years ago. It seems that in 1596 the Archbishop of Goa had already brought back the clergy and people from the schism of the Syrians into unity with the Church, but had left to them their Chaldæan liturgy. However, in 1838 Pope Gregory XVI. suppressed the Catholic see of Cranganore, which had in 1605 replaced the Syrian see of Angamala; and in quite recent times the Syrian Christians there have been subordinated to the Bishop of Verapoly (a Carmelite).

CHAPTER VII

ISLAM.

The religion which has taken firmest root has been the least described. —Chinese Mussulmans a serious and virile class.—The story begins with the conquest of Persia by the Arabs.—Embassy to China from the Caliph Othman.—Chinese historical description of the Arabs and Mohammed.—Refusal of the Arab envoy to kneel except to Heaven.—Arab and Ouigour rivalry at the Chinese court.—Attack upon Canton by sea-borne Arab and Persian soldiers; resulting possibility of there being early mosques at Canton.—Strange silence on the part of Chinese historians.—First Chinese mention of the only word meaning "Mussulmans." —How a confusion arose in the terminology.—General sketch of Mussulman doings during the Mongol dynasty.—General sketch of Ouigour doings.—No reasonable ground to confuse the two.—Disappearance of overt Islam from China during the Ming dynasty. —Continues in vigour along the land and sea roads from Persia to China.—Probable quiet infiltration of Islam into Yün Nan and Kan Suh.—Chinese lesson in tolerance to mediæval Europe.—Mussulmans under the Manchu dynasty.—Priestly caste of rulers under Eleuth suzerainty gradually replaces the old Mongol rulers. —Chinese conquest of the Mussulman states.—Reaction upon the Mussulmans (Dungans) of Chinese race.—The Salar Mussulman malcontents.—The Panthays of Yün Nan.—Character of Chinese Mussulmans in Manchuria and North China.—The mosques of Canton.—Importation of Turkestan Mussulmans into Peking 150 years ago. Peking mosque and imperial dedication.—Extraordinary imperial blunder about Ouigour *mâni* and Mussulman *mollas*.—Alleged old mosques at Nanking and Si-an Fu.—General sketch of the position of Mussulmans in China.—Comparison with other religions.

It is a remarkable thing that, while the Chinese annals are clear about the Persian and Babylonian religions which came and went during a couple of centuries, none of their histories record a single word about the introduction into China of the Mohammedan faith, the only one which has come to stay, and has taken deeper root than any other foreign, teaching introduced from those parts: the numbers of Mussulmans in China may not exceed those of Buddhists; but for steadfastness of purpose, and influence on the social and moral character, there is no comparison between the serious Chinese Mussulman and the superficial Chinese Buddhist. Buddhism appeals rather to the women of China.

The Chinese first heard of the Arabs in 651, immediately after the defeat and death of the Persian King, Yezdegerd, when the flight of his son, Piruz, to China (*i.e.* Tokhâra) evidently made the Mussulman conquerors anxious. An embassy from Othman—or "King Emir-al-mumemin" as the Chinese endeavour to put it in their awkward phonetic character—sent a tribute mission, announcing that he ruled over the Tazih,[1] "which state had already existed under two successive rulers for thirty-four years." The Chinese histories of the period, in describing the Tazih, mention the veiling of their women, and the worship five times a day of the Spirit of Heaven. "There is a rites-hall (mosque) holding several hundred people; every seven days the king sits aloft, and, preaching to the people, says: 'He who dies in battle is born in Heaven above; he who kills an enemy receives bliss.'" They then proceed to describe the rise of Mohammed at "Medina Mountains"; the "Black stone" (Kaaba), and the prophecies which moved him to action; these events are put down to a period embraced within the Chinese reign 605-617.[1] "He grew powerful, extinguished Persia, and broke up Fuh-lin"—evidently alluding to Khálid's taking of Damascus in 635 and to the battle of Kādīsīya in 637, of course after Mohammed's death in 632. "South he assailed the Brahm,"—as the Chinese had always styled the Punjaub region; probably referring to the events of 676. "K'ang and Shih all went to him as vassals; east were the Türgäs." These are the Chinese names for Samarcand and Tashkend; Ziyád crossed the Oxus against the Turks and Samarcand in or about the year 676; the Türgäs (so-called in the Turkish inscriptions too) were a branch of the Western Turks. In the year 713 another Arab mission came, and the envoy declined to kneel to the Emperor on the ground that "the men of our state only kneel to Heaven, and do not kneel before the king." There was some angry discussion on this point, and a conciliatory statesman endeavoured to mollify the ruffled emperor by pleading *Quot homines, tot sententiae*; however the envoy did under severe pressure kneel after all. The rest of Arab history down to the

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[1] It has not yet been absolutely proved whether the Persian word for "trader" or "nomad" is primarily meant; but it seems to be generally agreed that Tazih in effect represents the Persian word for "Arabs," whichever of the two it be.

[1] This error in date is explained lower down.

succession of the Black Clothes (Abbassides) is told with as much accuracy as one has a right to expect. The Arabs defeated at Talas the Corean general in command of the Chinese armies of the West in 751. Abu Djafar[1] is said to have lent China some troops in 756-757 to coöperate with the Ouigours in rescuing China from her difficulties. In 758 the Arabs and the Ouigours had a squabble about precedence at an imperial audience, when a suitable compromise was devised. In the same year the Arab and Persian soldiers and merchants at Canton conspired to attack the city, which was abandoned by the Governor. We may conclude from this that there may have been Mazdéan, Manichean, and Arab places of worship at Canton and other coast ports; but, if there were, we know nothing specific of them as yet. In the year 798 envoys from the ruler Hárún once more went through the kneeling process. The above slender sketch comprises everything specific and certain that we can gather from Chinese history, or, in fact, from Chinese works of any sort, concerning the Mohammedan religion up to the time of Genghis Khan (say 1200).

It has been stated by several European writers that a monument—somewhat similar to the well-authenticated Nestorian tablet—has in recent times been discovered at Si-an Fu, bearing the date 742, and stating some of the facts just cited about the earliest penetration of Islam into China; but no one has yet come forward to say that he has himself seen such alleged tablet; nor can any of the Europeans who allude to it give any better authority for their statements than the very modern (and only) Chinese works devoted to a study of the Mussulman question, none of which date farther back than 1651, and all of which bear evidence of defective or imaginative workmanship. It is, of course, possible that it may have been the policy of the officially recognised historians, or of the emperors under whose ægis their works were always published, to conceal or slur over facts connected with foreigners which it might at some future date prove politically inconvenient to have on record. At least two first-class Chinese historians have been emasculated as a punishment for talking too freely about royal follies and obscure royal origins; but, in view of the frankness with which Turkish, Tibetan, Japanese, Corean, and other foreign politics have been invariably discussed, it is difficult to see why the more distant Arabs and their religion should have created more alarm than the much nearer Persian beliefs. The real explanation is probably this: Tibet, and later, the powerful Tibeto-Tartar kingdom of Tangut north of Tibet, for many centuries formed a barrier between China and the West, until Genghis Khan started upon his wonderful career of conquest by first subduing Tangut. To put it in another form—between the fall of the T'ang dynasty (907) and the reuniting of most of China under the Sung dynasty (960), lacerated China had no time to think of religion or distant policy; and during the 300 years of Sung rule (960-1260), the Cathayan, Nüchên, and Mongol Tartars in succession governed as rival emperors north of the Yellow River. The more southerly Sung dynasty from its inception was in principle unwarlike, literary, and peace-loving; entirely opposed to unnecessary expansion. Its relations with the Arabs were extensive, but almost entirely mercantile, and by the sea routes. A quiet penetration of Mussulman principles, especially at the coast ports, is not unlikely to have run its unobtrusive course; but, however that may be, for 300 or more years after the Caliph Hárún-al-Rashid's mission to China in 798, not a single word is said about any Arab religion, about any of the Turkestan states having adopted or been forced to accept Islam, or about even the mere fact that a name existed for "Mussulman," which name solely and exclusively has existed in that sense for nearly 800 years past. Mussulman history begins with the year 1124; history never mentions a name previous to that.

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[1] The Chinese character for this *far* or *fêr* is exactly that used for *Far*ingh (Fuh-lin or Franks).

The following are the facts on historical record. When the Cathayans lost their empire in North China to the Nüchêns, one of the Cathayan princes mustered all the forces he could, and determined to found an empire in Persia. On arrival at Kan Chou (Marco Polo's Campichu), he reminded the

Hwei-huh (Ouigour) king reigning there that for over ten generations he had enjoyed the patronage of Cathayan suzerains; "I am now about to proceed to the Tazih, and want a road through your dominions, etc." Bilga Khan offered him every hospitality. Then he went on to Samarcand, fought various battles, and after subduing several states "received at Samarcand the submission and tribute of the Hwei-hwei (Mussulman) king." The use of this word does not, of course, create the word Mussulman; but as, ever after, the word means exclusively "Mussulman," the effect is the same. The modern Pekingese put a final *r* at the end of most nouns as a diminutive, and when this is done, the final vowel or nasal is often modified. Thus *Hwei-hur* and *Hwei-hwer*, freely uttered, are as indistinguishable as our sounds *sailor* and *sailer*. Hence when 150 years ago the Manchu Emperor K'ien-lung, after conquering the Turkestan states, and establishing a mosque for the captive Mussulmans in Peking, looked up his history of Ouigour relations with China, he officially announced to his people that "the Mussulmans now amongst us, are the identical Mussulmans (Ouigours) who came with *mullas* (Mâni) 1100 years ago." Thus the not unnatural confusion between two different ideas has received imperial sanction; the second confusion of the word *mulla* with the word Mâni is proved by the imperial dedication being written in Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu as well as in Chinese. But it is plain from the Cathayan history, quoted above, that, 650 years before the Manchu emperor's mistake, the fugitive Cathayan prince visited or saw first the Ouigour *Khagan* Bilga, and then the Mussulman king (probably of Otrar), at intervals of several weeks; and this at places thousands of miles apart, but in the same year. There is another point. Although the sign *hwei* of "Ouigour" may be the same as the reduplicated sign *hwei* of "Mussulman," still it need not be so, and the oldest form was not so; on the other hand the *hwei* of "Mussulman" has never once varied. It is useless to speculate why the Mussulmans were so called; but, if conjecture is to be allowed, then M. Devéria's conjecture that the Moslems are in the habit of addressing each other as "brother" *khouya* (plural *khaoua*) *e.g.*, *ya khouya*, "my brother," is as suggestive as any. The reason why in 1124 the fugitive Cathayan was making for Persia (where remains of his tomb still exist) is that in 924, when the founder of the Cathayan empire conquered the Ouigours, he "received tribute missions" from the Arabs and Persians on the River Orkhon. This manifestly means that the foreign traders already there had hastened to signify their submission. In 1020 the reigning Caliph sent a real mission, begging that a Cathayan princess might be given in marriage to his son. Persia did not continue official relations with Cathay, and indeed she had for long disappeared as a separate political entity, and was a prey to Samanide, Ghaznevide, Seldjuk, and other Turks, so far as she was not directly under the Caliphs' rule. Thus the Cathayan prince of 1124 had historical ties in the West, and was simply making his way through a number of petty states to the only great empire—Tazih—which lay to the west of North China.

It is known in a general way that Islam spread over Central Asia during the ninth and tenth centuries, and that the Ouigours (known to the Mohammedan writers as "Eastern Turks") extended their empire during the same period far away west to the Caspian; but, so far as we can judge from Chinese history, their religion in the eastern parts continued on old lines, and in the few instances where it is mentioned at all, the notice clearly refers only to Buddhism or Brahmanism. But from the moment (1203) Genghis Khan commenced his struggle with "Prester John" of the Keraits (who had previously fled through the Ouigour country to the Mussulman country), and passed on to the conquests of Otrar, a flood of Mohammedans of all kinds, Arabs, Persians, Bokhariots, converted Turks—and doubtless Ouigours—passed freely to and fro, and scattered themselves gradually over China itself, in a way they had never done before; for, as Marco Polo and Chinese history both tell us, the Mongols could not trust the native Chinese with high office. Marco Polo, also frequently mentions the "Saracens," and their hostility to other sects, at various places on the route from Persia to China; and this vague word of his corresponds to the equally vague Chinese word *Hwei-hwei*. Although the history of the Mongol dynasty (1200-1368) is carelessly written, more especially as concerns foreign proper names, there does not seem to be one single instance of this word being used to signify specifically "Ouigour," or to mean anything except "Mussulman." On the other hand, many prominent generals and ministers of the Mongol Khans, who from their names and acts are manifestly Mussulmans, are occasionally stated to be of Ouigour nationality. Of these the celebrated Achmat (of Marco Polo) was one, but it is said "of his provenance nothing whatever is known." The explanation, or at least the inference, naturally is that many Ouigours had either before or during Mongol domination accepted Islam. The Mongols themselves seem to have perceived the awkwardness of this confusing nomenclature, at least if we may judge from the "spelling" adopted in their annals, which probably record at each date the written form used in the documents filed at such successive date, and subsequently copied by the historian. At first they wrote *Hwei-ho-r*, but gradually they adopted a quite new form, which could not possibly be confused with the word meaning "Mussulman"; this new form was *Wei-wu-r*. In 1262, after the accession of Kublai Khan, a decree appears ordering that *Musu-aiman*

(Mussulmans), *Hwei-ho-r* (Ouigours), and other persons (named) of foreign religion, shall do their share of military duty. In 1270 the *Hwei-hwei* of all provinces were ordered to serve in the army; this points to there being members of that religion already widely scattered; for the whole of China was by this time conquered. In 1271 a Mussulman observatory was established at Peking, with a Persian named Djamal-uddin at the head of it; the following year it was ordered that the Mussulman almanac should not be sold without proper authorisation. In 1272 a Medical Hall was started at Peking by the Mussulman Aisie (perhaps Isaiah) from Fuh-lin; his sons bore the names of Elias and Giorgis. Mussulman gunners, Ismaïl and others, attained great notoriety, having come from Persia with their whole families post haste to Peking in order to assist at the siege of certain towns. In 1280 the Emperor displayed great indignation because the Mussulmans in his suite or on his service caused distress to the people by declining to eat mutton which had not been slaughtered by themselves. In 1282 both *Musuman* and *Erkun*[1] (Mussulman and Christian) chiefs at Quilon in India send missions to Kublai. In 1284 *Hwei-hwei* and *Wei-wu-r* are both placed on a Mongol footing as regards their capacity to serve as district governors. In 1289 a Mussulman High School was established, and about 200 Mussulman families were given parcels of land in Ho Nan province. In 1290 occurs a passage which may possibly explain the mysterious Persian term Dungan, or "Chinese Mussulman," the origin of which has for very many years puzzled students of Asiatic history; in that year 3000 *T'êng-kie-r* Mussulman families were supplied with cattle and seed—unfortunately no further details are given. The same year it was recommended to Kublai by one Shab-uddin that the punishment of branding and cutting off the hand at the wrist should be introduced to meet cases of peculating government stores. Kublai said: "This is the Mussulman practice," and declined to sanction it. In 1297 the Mussulmans were ordered to farm the taxes on trade in China proper. In 1311 the Mussulman observatory is again mentioned, and certain limitations are placed on the right of those of the Mussulman *shuh* (craft) to visit the private houses of princes and ministers; certain Mussulman *hati* (? hadji) who "pray for happiness," are also alluded to, as also a bureau to which they were attached. In 1321 a Mussulman monastery at Shang-tu ("Xanadu," or Upper Capital, near the present Dolonor or Lama-miao) was destroyed, and its glebes were given over to the Tibetan patriarch. In 1328 the "Bureau of the *hati* managing the concerns of their religion" was suppressed; but it was found that many of the Mussulmans had been implicated with one Abdullah and others executed for treason; however, the innocent were told not to be afraid, and to resume their occupations in peace. In 1340 the Mussulmans and *Chu-u* females (Jews) were prohibited from marrying with their uncles. In 1354 the Mussulmans and *Shuh-hu* (Jews) were ordered to take part in the defence of the tottering empire.

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[1] This term is explained in Chapter IX.

Not only is the term *Hwei-hwei* (which seems to be called *Musu-ai-man* or *Musu-man* only or usually in allusion to sea-coming Mussulmans) used absolutely always in the single sense of "Mussulmans"; but it is manifest that all the science and art of the West came solely through them. On the other hand, the Ouigours, besides from first to last being named in the same sentences as being different persons from Mussulmans (except when they happen themselves to be Mussulmans), are mentioned in senses which show that they were quite a different class of people. Thus the Ouigour script, which the Mongols are known to have first used, and which is also known to have been derived from the Syriac, was in 1272 replaced, so far as imperial decrees were concerned, by the newly-invented Mongol script. In 1275 and 1287 certain game laws were established for Ouigour land. Bishpalik is frequently mentioned as a Ouigour centre, and the Ouigour kings are often given their well-authenticated title of Idikut. In 1281 a Mongol history was published in Ouigour character; in 1286 the same thing was ordained for Genghis Khan's history. In 1283 a distinguished Ouigour and Buddhist had a dispute with and defeated a Western bonze in connection with astrology. In 1310 Ouigour bonzes were implicated in a conspiracy. In 1324 the Tibetan *sûtras* were translated into Ouigour character, and in 1331 *sûtras* in gold Ouigour letters are mentioned. In 1329 Ouigour bonzes were ordered to conduct certain Buddhist services. In 1336 the Emperor's mother is stated to have been a Ouigour; and, as the empire gradually collapsed, the Idikuts faithfully marched their troops east to try and save it.

Thus it is quite clear that, so far as Mongol history is concerned, there may be an excuse for, but there is no real ground for the oft-repeated plea that "Ouigour" and "Mussulman" run into each other and become one. It is true that more than one Manchu emperor may have thought so, and that many distinguished European sinologists have followed them into the trap; but all is clear when sufficient patience is exercised. It will be convenient to recur to the subject when the Jews are discussed.

It is doubtful if the word "Mussulman" occurs more than once during the three centuries of indulgent native Chinese rule (Ming dynasty, 1368-1673), at least in connection with inland affairs. This dynasty, for the first hundred years at least, was particularly active in fostering the sea trade of the Indian Ocean, from Africa to the Malay States; and, of course, most of these states were Mussulman.

Mussulman interpreters accompanied the Chinese eunuch envoys in charge. In 1407 there was founded an Interpreters' College, the duty of which was to prepare and translate tribute addresses, commands to vassals, and rules for foreign envoys. The Arabo-Persian department dealt with the affairs of Samarcand, Arabia, Turfan, and Hami, which two latter kingdoms were still partly, if not wholly, under Ouigour rule. It is repeatedly said, however, that in consequence of their having been so long under Mongol rule, these principalities, and especially Hami, had three contending parties among the population, the *Hwei-hwei* (Mussulman), *Wei-wu-r* (Ouigour), and *Hala-hwei* (not identified, but possibly Karluks): the Mussulman party was very powerful, and apparently often interfered very effectually in matters of succession, diplomacy, and so on. One of the neighbouring towns is stated to have belonged formerly "to the Mussulman" country—probably referring to some part under Tamerlane's influence. One of the contending Turfan-Hami princes was named Achmat; and, curiously enough, Hami (through which nearly all missions from the West passed) is accused of "blocking the tribute road of the *Hwei-hêh*" (old term for Ouigours) of the Western Regions, who would therefore appear to have been detached from the easterly Buddhist group. A long account of Tamerlane's empire is given—Samarcand, Herat, etc.;—the fast of Ramadan is described; and mention is made of certain officials called *dāwwān*.

In the paragraphs devoted to Arabia, an account is given of Mohammed and Ismaïl (evidently Ismael, the supposed progenitor of the Arabs); but the scrappy way in which the Mussulman faith is described proves that, however common Mohammedans may have been on the high road to China, scarcely anything was known of them in China itself. We may therefore say that, up to the advent of the Manchu dynasty 260 years ago, the history of Islam in China, save for what is said above, is a complete blank. If the faith spread, as it probably did quietly, wherever Abbassides and Ouigours had fought side by side with the Chinese armies—*e.g.* in Yün Nan and Kan Suh provinces—no more official notice was taken of it than was taken of Catholicism in England previous to the Emancipation; of Protestantism in Spain previous to the recent policy of bare toleration; or of the Mormons in America until they became a public nuisance. At no period in China has "conscience" ever been in the faintest degree persecuted, so long as State policy, municipal convenience, and popular sentiment were in no way flouted. In this matter we Europeans have scarcely had competence to teach China any historical lessons in philosophy.

No sooner was the Manchu dynasty firmly seated on the throne of China, than "the Mussulman states and Arabia sent tribute" (1645). This laconic announcement almost certainly refers to the Kuché, Yarkand, Khoten, and Kashgar group, usually known to us cumulatively as Little Bucharia; during the Ming dynasty these had developed a Mohammedan life under their old Mongol Khans quite beyond the Chinese sphere; latterly, it appears under the suzerainty of the Eleuths of Ili, but more immediately under the supreme rule of a certain Mahmud and his descendants, who are supposed to have come from Bagdad, and to have been direct representatives of the prophet; the tribes about 1640 began to desert the old Mongol Khans in their favour. Even before this (1622) the Jesuits, Schall and others, had been appointed by the last emperor of the Ming dynasty to the Astronomical Board at Peking, where it seems that Mussulmans had for ages been employed as men of science. At all events, in 1657, a Mussulman holding a position on that Board, in denouncing the methods of Schall, informed the Emperor that, "1059 years ago," eighteen men from the western regions had brought to China the Mussulman calendar, and their descendants had ever since assisted China in astrological matters. The second Manchu emperor, K'ang-hi, had to conduct in person several wars against the Eleuth Tartars; during the course of these, in the year 1696, the prince of a Mussulman State named Abdul Ishtar, or Ishid, who had been sixteen years a hostage or captive amongst the Eleuths, took advantage of his escape, after the defeat of the Eleuths by the Manchus, to offer the latter the assistance of 20,000 Yarkand Mussulman troops. These events led the Emperor to enquire amongst the Mussulman officers of his entourage if any of them were aware why they and their co-religionists were called *Hwei-hwei.* It turned out that no one had the remotest idea. Then it was that K'ang-hi, who was of an extremely scientific and enquiring turn of mind, handed them a document (it is not said of whose composition) telling the story of how in the year 628 the Emperor of the T'ang dynasty had had a dream of a turbaned man from the West, which led him to send a mission to Hami, in order to learn whether the interpretation of his dream was correct; from which place in due course an envoy came to explain the mysteries of the Koran; in consequence of which the Emperor showed great favour to the new religion. Apart from the fact that the Chinese pilgrim, Hüan Chwang, in 629 visited Hami (a Turkish possession, which was not then called Hami, nor yet for 600 years after that), and found it strictly Buddhist, the whole story is manifestly an adaptation of the A.D. 62 dream about Buddha, and the mission to India. Moreover the date 628, as also the "1059 years ago" of 1657 (*i.e.* 599), proves that the greater number of Mussulman lunar years as compared with the lesser number of Chinese solar years since the Hegira in 622, and since the death of Mohammed, in 632, had caused the Mussulman Chinese story-makers to concoct false dates. In 1755, after the complete and final crushing of the Eleuth power by the Emperor K'ien-lung, grandson of K'ang-hi, it was found necessary for China's safety to take possession of the Mussulman states of Little Bucharia; this brought on a war with the two grandsons (Borhan-uddin and another) of the above mentioned Abdul, scions of the Mahmoud race of the *Khodjo* (as they were called)—a priestly caste. All this brought China into closer contact with Kokand, Bokhara, Badakshan, Affghanistan, and the network of Andijan trade intrigues. Between 1820 and 1828 the great Mohammedan rebellion under Jehangir, son of Samsak, son of Borhan-uddin, broke out, immediately connected with which, again, was the rise and fall of the Andijan Yakub Beg's Kashgar state in 1864-1873. All these Mussulman complications were, of course, beyond the pale of China proper; yet they successively reacted upon the Dungans, or Chinese Mohammedans, farther east. For instance, in 1647-1659 a serious Mussulman rebellion, caused at the outset by the indecent behaviour of Manchu soldiers, broke out in the Kan Chou (Polo's Campichu) region, and spread to Shan Si. In 1781-1783 there were quarrels about the proper way of reciting the Koran between the old Mussulmans and Reformed Mussulmans of the Si-ning region near Kokonor, which led to severe repression, some bloody fighting, and terrible imperial butcheries; after the suppression of the revolt, the Reformed religion was interdicted as a political measure in order to obviate further disputes; but in 1863 the same Mussulmans once more broke out into serious rebellion in sympathy with the movements, first of Burzug Khan, heir of Jehangir, and then of Yakub Beg and his friends. Only eight years ago there was yet another alarming insurrectionary movement amongst the Mussulmans of the Si-ning region, which was finally quelled by the notorious General Tung Fuh-siang, later of "Boxer" fame. In fact, the "Salar" Mussulmans of those parts, originally recruited from Hami, have always formed a nest of disaffection. Then, of course, the Panthay rebellion of 1860-1873 is fresh in the recollection of middle-aged persons interested in Chinese questions; the causes of this terrible war were in themselves small, yet the result was the utter devastation of the province of Yün Nan. One of the leading Mussulman chiefs of this period had in 1842 made an interesting pilgrimage to Mecca, which is on record; of course it then gave him great political influence. Even now it is by no means an uncommon thing for Chinese Mussulmans from distant interior provinces to travel thus by way of Burma; in fact, "Panthay" is simply a corrupt average form of the Burmese words for "Mussulman" and "Chinese-Mussulman," and the son of the Panthay sultan is still a British pensioner at Rangoon.

As to Manchuria and North China, Mussulman Chinese are an exceedingly numerous and law-abiding race, more thrifty, manly, and self-respecting than the average "lay" Chinese. They are to be found in Kirin, Potuné, Alchuk (Harbin), and Sansing; indeed a quarter of the Alchuk population is Dungan—perhaps 1800 families; socially, they keep a good deal aloof from the ordinary Chinese. In many parts of Chih Li province the Mussulmans have almost a monopoly of the inn and cart trades, probably because their scruples about slaughtering meat render it necessary for themselves, as cart contractors, that they should keep the inns. They do not intermarry (formally) with pagans, and are strict on the subject of pork,—practically the only meat of other Chinese. In Canton there is a well-known Mussulman pagoda which popular tradition and vulgar Mussulman literature says was erected by Mohammed's uncle Saad Wakkâs, who is supposed to have come to China in 611, to have constructed mosques at Canton and Nanking, and to have died at Canton. As a matter of fact, it has been proved by M. Devéria that this man actually took part in the identical battle which practically put an end to the Sassanides in Persia (636); that he was a second cousin only (in the generation of uncles) of Mohammed, and that he died at Medina, never having been near China at all. There are half-a-dozen mosques at Canton, five inside the walls; and if the one of which striking remains in the shape of a leaning pagoda still exists was really built during the T'ang dynasty (which we have shown to be *primâ facie* very likely), it was destroyed by fire in 1343, and rebuilt in 1350 by one Mahmud, at the close of the Mongol dynasty. An Arabic inscription, dated 1351, states that it was rebuilt in the 751th year (Hegira). The Chinese inscription below says nothing of Saad Wakkâs, but vaguely mentions that "about 800 years ago, the religion developed itself here."

After the defeat of Borhan-uddin and Khodjo Jehân in 1759, a number of Mussulman prisoners, including a beautiful Kashgar girl for the Emperor, were brought in triumph to Peking. A mosque was constructed in a street close to the Palace wall, and in 1764 the Emperor wrote with his own hand the Chinese dedication, reproduced on stone, which also appears in Manchu, Mongol, and Turkish translations; the last alone being horizontally written. Here it is that the Emperor (who besides being a smatterer in philology, distinguished himself by disfiguring the three Tartar histories through a course of tampering with the "spelling" of foreign words), deliberately tells the world that *li-pai-sz*[1] (the ordinary word for "mosques") really began with the Hwei-hêh, who first began to come to China in 581-600, and who obtained in 807 permission to erect at T'ai-yüan a *sz* for the Mâni who brought tribute along with them. This extraordinary statement is (or was) repeated on a sixth mosque outside the north wall of Canton, where the remains of Saad Wakkâs—visited in 1749 by one Hadji Mohammed also buried there—are supposed to lie. According to the Chinese books on Islam, none of which have a high reputation for accuracy, and few of which are more than 200 years old, there are also some old mosques in existence at Si-an Fu and at Nanking (probably referring to the old Ouigour temples at Ch'ang-an, and certainly to Nanking as it was previous to the T'ai-p'ing rebellion). One of the Si-an Fu mosques, which had been frequently repaired during the Sung Mongol and Ming dynasties, is said to state that it stands on the site of one originally built in 742; but, as no European has seen either the mosque or a rubbing of the inscription, and as we have seen that the very emperors of the present dynasty are untrustworthy authorities on Islam, it is unnecessary to hazard further remarks.

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[1] The word *li-pai* was first used of Buddhist "worship"; thence it came to mean "weekly worship," and now it is the only Chinese name for "Sunday," "Sabbath," and "a week."

There are no statistics of Mohammedans in China; but, having from the first taken the position of trading guests, abstaining from dogma and aggressive proselytism, and simply courting the favour of protection, the followers of the Prophet have rarely caused "objective" trouble; their White-cap (Sunnite) and Red-cap (Shiite) rivalries are quite subjective, and confined among themselves, while their resigned fatalism and conservative tendencies do not often run counter to Confucianism. "Know thyself and thou knowest God" might have been translated word for word from Taoism. Belief in a Supreme Being is in accord alike with ancient teachings, Taoism, and Buddhism; even the doctrine of predestination and

God's absolute decree shocks no Chinese elementary principle. Resurrection and a Day of Judgment were quite new; Hell and Paradise were presented in new and material forms; but, being treated in vague and general terms, these novelties do not menace the public peace of mind. Moreover, the Koran does not seem to have ever been translated into Chinese, and the native Imâms and Mollahs are as often as not quite ignorant of the meaning of the Arabic characters they are taught to read aloud, just as the bonzes glibly chaunt Sanskrit prayers in unmeaning Chinese phonetics. Though the reverence due to ancestors is manifested in a different manner from that in general Chinese vogue, yet the fact that such a duty is recognised at all by the Mussulmans gives them a respectable status in the Chinese cultivated mind, and the general spirituality of Islam is quite above the ignorant classes. Be that as it may, the undoubted fact remains that Chinese Mussulmans have from the very beginning played their cards so prudently that there has never been a single spiritual persecution, or a persecution pretexted by alleged immorality or corruption on the part of the priests, who, moreover, not being celibates, and not herding in monasteries, have never been exposed to the suspicions and temptations of bonzes and Buddhist nuns: besides, polygamy and the general treatment of women are viewed almost eye to eye, from a Mussulman as from a Chinese point of view. In a word, Islam is, and always has been, tamed and subdued in China, except perhaps at the two centres—Yün Nan and Kan Suh—where Arabs and Ouigours have been directly introduced as soldiers; and being on a footing of equality, if not superiority, have formed fanatical hot-beds of disaffection. Mussulmans in China have never been, and are not now at all disqualified, by reason of their religion alone, from holding any post, however high, open to ordinary Chinese.

CHAPTER VIII

THE JEWS

May be said to have disappeared with the year 1900.—Persian Jews arrive in 1163; positive evidence.—Stone tablet records descent from Adam, Abraham, Moses, etc.—*Tao* once more introduced to explain the doctrine.—Dates from the Chou dynasty.—Jewish fasts commanded. — The first synagogue at K'ai-fêng Fu. — Repaired during Mongol rule.—Ming dynasty tolerant towards the Jews; they repair the synagogue.—Destroyed by a flood.—Native Jewish comparison of Judaism with other religions.—Trims the faith to suit Chinese ideas.—Evidence of Persian origin; other Jews said to be in China.—Transmission through Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron, to Joshua and Esdras.—Further compromise with Chinese doctrines, and claim for higher antiquity in China.—Destruction by inundation at the close of the Ming dynasty.—Rebuilding of the synagogue under the Manchu rule.—No real evidence of any Judaism in China anterior to 1163.—How Ricci 300 years ago first heard of these Jews; and of others at Hangchow. — Père Trigault's special opportunities for examining the Nestorian and Jewish stones.—Protestant Bishop of Hongkong sends to make enquiry.—Some of the Jews come to Shanghai.—Disappearance of the synagogue. —Rev. W. A. P. Martin himself visits the Jews in 1866.—Unsympathetic attitude of the Moslems.—Total degeneration of the last surviving Jews.—Effects of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion.—Other recent visitors to the site.—More Jews visit Shanghai, and the Jewish merchants there take the matter up.—Scrolls and other valuables placed in museums under British control. — Arabic words for "Christian" and "Jew."—Turkish race for 2000 years a link between religious China and religious Europe.—Clue by which we can trace the Jews of the Mongol dynasty.—Mussulman independence contrasted with Jewish suppleness.

THE Jews may be said to have disappeared from

China with the nineteenth century, and with the publication in the year 1900 of their official obsequies by the Jesuit, Père Jerôme Tobar. Yet, strange to say, the history of their arrival in China from Persia in 1163 (Sung dynasty), since when they have lived in almost complete seclusion and obscurity, is as clear and positive as the coming of the first Moslems, now counted perhaps in the whole of China by tens of millions, is lost in the mistiness of oblivion. The authority is of the highest, being nothing less than the original stones of 1489 and 1512 (Ming dynasty), and that of 1663 (present Manchu dynasty), commemorating the rebuildings and repairs of the synagogue in which they were found; moreover, they are still *in situ*. The first inscription begins by stating that Abraham, "founder of the Israel religion," was nineteenth in descent from Adam (as stated in the first chapter of the Chronicles), none of the intervening patriarchs between those two having worshipped idols or believed in any but one God. Abraham, observing that the *tao* of Heaven did not speak, set himself to draw it out from God by faithful service, and thus founded the religion as transmitted to this day. After over 500 years of successive transmissions, the true religion came to the charge of Moses, who retired to Mount Sinaï in order to seek the Scripture amid fasting and prayer. All this took place during the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122-206, — a chronology which requires elucidation): and so things went on up to Esdras, a descendant of the first patriarchs. The *tao*, or "way" to honour Heaven, though obvious in itself, needs to be based upon the overt acts of *li-pai* (rite-kneeling), and on the principles of *ts'ing-chên* (purity-truth). Heaven must be for ever present to the mind; and the *tao* of Heaven, though without form, is always there above, if only we pursue it with our hearts. After this follows a further dissertation upon *tao*, proof that, as in the case of the Nestorians, every effort has been to accommodate the new religion so far as possible to Chinese notions. Thus Adam is styled "*P'an-ku Adam*," P'an-ku being the legendary Chinese "creator" as adopted from fiction by the literary men of the Sung dynasty; and there are various quotations from the "Book of Changes," other ancient classics, and even popular ouranology. Stress is then laid upon the duty of making offerings to ancestors in the spring and autumn, purification, good works, and fasting. The seventh day closes each round of observances; however, the question of resting from labour on that day is prudently omitted. But there is a vague allusion to "seven days' fasting at the four seasons, in commemoration of our patriarchal ancestor's tribulations," which may possibly refer to the four fasts enumerated by Zechariah.

The inscription goes on to say that Jewish traditions ascribe the immigrants' origin to India (a term in which the Chinese often include parts of Ta-ts'in and of Persia), whence seventy families came by command (it is not stated of whom) with tribute of foreign cloth to Sung. The Emperor invited them to stay at Pien-liang (then the capital; now K'ai-fêng Fu in Ho Nan). In the year 1163 the *ustâd*[1] Levi was in charge, and Am-tu-la (? Abdullah) built the first synagogue. In the year 1279 of the Mongol Emperor Kublai the *ustâd* rebuilt the place, or *Ts'ing-chên Sz* ("Purity-truth Monastery") as it was called. On the advent of the Ming dynasty (1368), the founder granted liberty to all who submitted to his will, and a certain number of *mwan-la* (mollahs)[2] were appointed to the charge. In the year 1421 the second Ming emperor presented the synagogue with some incense, and authorised its extensive repair; tablets in honour of the Emperor (for monthly worship) were placed within it, and the front part of the work was completed by the year 1445. A flood of the Yellow River in the year 1461 did immense damage, but funds and official sanction were obtained to rebuild on the devastated site; and the whole, including the back parts, was magnificently reconstructed. Meanwhile more sacred books had been procured from Ningpo (in those times a place of Japanese trade), and large subscriptions were made amongst the Jews in order to provide the necessary furniture and ornaments. Finally the composer of the inscription indulges in a few general reflections; he says:

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[1] M. Devéria has shown that the Chinese word *wu-sz-tah* (or *tat*) is the Persian *ustâd* (or *ustâ*), which stands for *Râb*, or "rabbi" as we say in English; as we shall see, in 1282 a word like it is applied to a Christian sending envoys from India.

[2] Mohammedan mosques are also often called "Purity-truth Temples"; the supposed 742 mosque at Si-an Fu is so termed by the professed authorities for its existence; and, curiously enough, one Abdullah repaired it in 1127. In 1482 its name was changed by request to *Ts'ing-siu Sz*, or "Purity-effort Temple." As the Jews are popularly called "Sinew-plucking Moslems," it is possible to see in all this a Mussulman attempt to share and exceed the moderate antiquity of the Jews.

> "The three teachings (religions) have each their way of honouring their lord. The literates honour Confucius in their Halls of Great (Musical) Perfection; the S'âkya honour [S'âkya] Muni in their Halls of the Sacred Effigy; the Taoists (*i.e.* the modern degenerates) have their Jewel Emperor Hall (dates from 1116, 1600 years after Lao-tsz' death). So those of Purity-truth have their Israel Hall, where they honour August Heaven."

It is interesting to note the absence of all mention of Manicheans, Nestorians, and, above all, of Mussulmans, who, if they existed then in that city, were probably as hostile as they are now, when they are known to be numerous. Then he goes on to say:

> "Confucianists and ourselves in the main believe the same thing, but differ in detail; the essential points of both parties being to respect the *tao* of Heaven, to honour our ancestors, be loyal to our princes, dutiful to father and mother, kind to wife and children, content with our grade in life, and sociable with friends; in a word, we do not ignore any of the Five Relationships (of the Book of Rites)."

Here follow some political remarks flattering to the Ming dynasty.

The second stone of 1512 once more enters into the question of Jewish *tao* from the Chinese classical point of view, but contains little of historical novelty. The authors,—officials, and evidently not all Jews,—condense the history of the synagogue as given in the earlier stone, but add a few new touches of their own. Thus, Adam came from the Western Regions (a term always applied to West Asia) of India; the first Jewish Scriptures date from the Chou dynasty; the four local copies (*i.e.* the three originally there and the Ningpo copy) are divided into fifty-three sections (Persian Jews' computation). "The original faith has been in China since Han times (B.C. 206-A.D. 220)." The followers of this religion, it appears, are to be found in other places besides Pien (K'ai-fêng Fu); but, wherever they may be, they revere the same Scripture and the same *tao*. Then after a long dissertation and comparison the authors give us a few more historical facts:—"After the Creation, the first patriarch Adam transmitted to Noah, who in turn transmitted to Abraham." 'Raham (thus euphoniously contracted, and written with the Buddhist sounds for *Arhân*) passed it on to Isaac, who did the same to Yahakuvuh (Jacob). 'Kuvuh transmitted to the Twelve Tribes, whence in due course to Moses and Aaron. Aaron transmitted to Yüe-shu-wo (Joshua), and 'Shu-wo to Esdras, from whose time the religion obtained a brilliant development.

The third inscription dates from 1663, the second year of K'ang-hi (Manchu dynasty), and introduces one or two new surprises. Adam was nineteenth in descent from P'an-ku, and Arhân taught his people to do God's will with their whole heart, and also to do their utmost to discover *tao*. Then follows a lengthy sermon on filial piety, Heaven, prayer, sacrifice, purification, and fasting, in which the "Book of Changes" and the Chinese classics are raked for apt allusions. Moses is discovered to have thought out the *Chung-yung* or Golden Mean of Confucius. The religion was first preached in China during the Chou dynasty, "and" (evidently with the intention of suggesting "when") the synagogue was erected at Ta-liang (another name for Pien, or Pien-liang). Through the Han, T'ang, Sung, and Ming dynasties (B.C. 206-A.D. 1644) there have been many vicissitudes, but no swerving from the true doctrine. The synagogue was built by Am-tu-la in 1163, and rebuilt by an Ustâd in the Mongol year 1356 (*sic*). It was destroyed by the flood of 1461, and again rebuilt. At the close of the Ming dynasty (1642) the rebels and the imperial troops both cut the banks of the Yellow River with the object of damaging each other; the city was flooded,[1] 100,000 persons were drowned, and the synagogue was again destroyed. In 1646, under the first Manchu emperor, the books saved from the flood were collated and placed for temporary safety in a hired dwelling; meanwhile a military officer of the Jewish religion exerted himself to recover the situation, and in 1653 steps were taken to rebuild once more. There are various other lengthy details, in which the term *mwan-la* (mollah) twice occurs; but there is nothing further of great historical interest. In ten years the place was finished and this third stone inscription set up.

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[1] Père Martin Martini in 1656 gives an account of this flood; many Christians perished, including the European priest Robert de Figuereido, who declined to abandon his flock.

Nothing could thus be clearer than the fact that for 500 years the Jews had flourished peaceably at K'ai-fêng Fu; the statements about their earlier arrival during the Chou dynasty are self-contradictory, the later inscriptions manifestly ranking in value below the earlier, from which they were necessarily inspired; perhaps the allusion in the first to Abraham and Moses "during the Chou dynasty," (who, according to the usually accepted chronology, both lived before even the beginning of the Chou dynasty), caused the authors of the two later to believe that the earliest Chinese Jews came in the Chou or Han dynasties. Pious aspirations, are, of course no evidence, and there is no tittle of real evidence to be found that any Westerners, still less any Western religion, came to China before the Chinese themselves discovered the Oxus region in B.C. 130-120. The fact that Buddhists really did arrive in A.D. 67 has most likely been mentally extended, as in the case of the later literature on Islam, to cover more than stern evidence will justify; even the Catholics

(Missions Etrangères) avail themselves of this Buddhist event to turn it into a Christian one in their teaching manuals. But the questions still remain, How was all this about the 1163 Jews found out by Europeans, and What has become of these Persian Jews since 1663?

When the Jesuit Matthew Ricci was in Peking three centuries ago, he was visited by a Chinese Jew who had heard of his arrival in China, and had taken the opportunity of an official visit to Peking to call and see if he perchance belonged to their faith, seeing that report said he was no Mussulman, and yet worshipped a single God. He told Ricci that there were twelve families of Israelites at K'ai-fêng, and that they possessed a fine synagogue (this was, of course, before the disaster of 1642), with a scroll of the Law over five hundred years old; he added that there was another synagogue, with a still larger number of Jewish families at Hangchow. Scattered over other parts of China there were yet other fragments of Jewish communities, who, for want of meeting-places, were gradually being absorbed by the pagans. Ricci at once sent some native Christians to make enquiry at K'ai-fêng, and found that the story of Mr Ngai (one of the family names of the 1163 immigrants) was in the main quite true. Père Nicholas Trigault, who had been in Peking for a short time in 1610, the year of Ricci's death, was stationed at K'ai-fêng Fu in 1623. Leaving Figuereido in charge, he proceeded to Si-an Fu, where he was the first European to see the celebrated Nestorian Stone discovered in 1623; during his stay in K'ai-fêng he must have had opportunities of inspecting the Jewish inscriptions too, and possibly also the synagogue of Hangchow, where he died in 1627; but it is not on record that he ever did so. It was not until about a century or more after this that PP. Gozani (1707), Domenge, Cibot (1770), and Gaubil in turn sent home abridged translations of the inscriptions, afterwards collated by P. Brotier. In 1850 the Bishop of Hongkong (Protestant) took the lead in sending a deputation of Chinese Christians to K'ai-fêng Fu, and two of the Jews were induced the following year to come to Shanghai, bringing with them numerous beautifully inscribed scrolls of white sheepskin. But the synagogue had by this time already ceased to exist, and the remnant of the Jews were in a deplorable condition of poverty. In 1866 the Rev. W. A. P. Martin, an American Protestant missionary (still working for the Chinese in an educational capacity), himself visited the site of the synagogue; he gives a graphic account of his visit in the Journal of the Shanghai Asiatic Society for 1866. He also alludes to the fact that the ordinary Chinese had some difficulty in distinguishing these "sinew-picking *Hwei-kwei*" from the local Mussulmans, who had six mosques in the city, and who, so far from sympathising with the Jews in their distress, rejoiced in the destruction of their synagogue, and even denounced them as Kafirs (unbelievers). One solitary stone was all that was left in the open space where the synagogue used to be, and on the two faces of this stone were the above described records of 1489 and 1512; the stone of 1663 was in a separate place originally. Several Jews stepped out, in answer to a call, from the crowd which stood round Dr Martin, and their features in his opinion unmistakably marked them as being such; notwithstanding these external evidences of feature, thus surviving after 700 years of pagan Chinese surroundings, they had lost all knowledge of Hebrew, ceased to hand down the traditions of their forefathers, and discontinued the ritual. The male children had not even been circumcised, and the wretched adults confessed that they had been driven by want to pull down the sacred building with their own hands. Seven of the original immigrant families named in 1489 still had representatives there, and the whole colony as then existing fell short of 400 souls; but they never assembled, had no registers, and were unable to follow back their tribal pedigrees. One of the men present was the son of the last rabbi, who had died in the distant province of Kan Suh about the year 1830. Of course the devastating T'ai-p'ing rebellion, the back of which had only been completely broken in 1864, was largely responsible for this distress.

Since then several Europeans have visited the site—Mr Libermann in 1867, the Rev. D. J. Mills in 1898. In 1902 a party of eight Jews visited Shanghai, and declared that the number of adults in the colony was now reduced to 140. Most of the rituals, scrolls, and other interesting objects connected with these interesting people have now been secured and deposited in the British Museum, or in the museums of Shanghai, Hongkong, and places in India. The Jewish community at Shanghai is believed to have taken the matter in hand with a view of preserving the colony from extinction, and one of the Jewish lads who accompanied the visitors of 1902 is receiving instruction at that treaty port. According to an article published two or three years ago in the *East of Asia Magazine* by Mr Edward Isaac Ezra, a Jewish merchant of Shanghai, many of the rituals are Persian, and there are many Persian words in the Hebrew scrolls; in his opinion the immigrants must have come by way of Khorasan and Samarcand.

The modern Chinese writers on Mohammedanism call Christians *Ou-jo-pa* (Arabic *Ourabba*), or "Europeans," just as the Arabs of the seventh century used the word *Afrangh*, in a loose way, concurrently with "Ourobbaween" and "Al Roum" for "the Byzantines"; hence the West Turks, when in the sixth century they came into intimate relation with Persia and Byzantium, brought the word Fuh-lin (*Afrangh*, *Ferenghi*, etc.) back with them to China. It is a curious fact that from first to last the Turkish race, whether as Hiung-nu, Eptals, Turks proper, Ouigours, or Mongols, have been almost the sole medium of connecting by religious links China with Europe. Even now the Turks, besides being leaders of the faithful, are in possession of both Jewish and Christian headquarters, and, in their mixed condition as Mongols or Moguls, may be said to have held until a century ago possession of the headquarters of Buddhism. The same modern Chinese writers call the Jews *Chu-hu-ti*, and this gives a clue by which we are enabled with greater certainty to trace the existence of Jews in China during the Mongol dynasty, which was in possession of the whole empire a century after the first immigration of the Persian Jews in 1163. Thus in the year 1329 (midway between the years 1279 and 1356 of the Jewish inscriptions) a decree ordained that: "traders belonging to the Erkuns (Christians), *Shuh-hu* (in Cantonese still pronounced *shut - fut*), and Danishmends should still pay duties under the former laws." Mention has already been made of the Censor's recommendation of 1340 that uncles (fathers' brothers) of the Danishmends, Buddhists, Taoists, Mussulmans, and *Chu-wu* people should not be allowed to intermarry—possibly meaning that their children should not. In 1355 an order was issued by the Emperor Toghuṇ Timur calling upon the good archers of Ning-hia (Marco Polo's Egrigaia, where he says there were Nestorians), and the rich men of the Mussulmans and *Shuh-hu* to proceed to the capital for military service. It might be that the repairs made (according to the third tablet) to the K'ai-fêng synagogue in 1356 were an official reward for these services in 1355.

It is also remarkable to notice that whilst the Nestorians and Jews, both of whom clearly came to China from Persia, were, according to the evidences of their respective stones, eager to compound with Chinese philosophy in defining their faith, there is no evidence that the Mussulmans, at any place in China, have ever condescended to depart one jot from their "Allah is great, and Mohammed is his prophet," or that they have ever felt the need of imperial patronage. The Emperor K'ien-lung's pompous dedication of 1767 was purely gratuitous, and, moreover, historically incorrect. So far from adapting the Mussulman beliefs to Chinese ideas, he graciously sympathises with his conquered foes for having never heard of any literature but the Rouz Nameh.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROMAN CHURCH

Gradual collapse of the T'ang dynasty after the religious persecutions of A.D. 845.—Tartars once more dominate the North.—No sign of continued Nestorianism; or scarcely any.—Genghis Khan thinks of Taoism; Christians heard of in Tartary.—Alarm in Europe; action of the Pope.—Carpini finds Christians in Mongolia.—Proof of a Western physican being with Kayuk Khan.—Rubruquis finds Christians.—Mangu Khan arranges a religious tournament; he mentions Christians; comes round to Buddhism.—Christians in Marco Polo's time.—Bishopric at Peking under Montecorvino.—Buddhists overweening under Hayshan Khan.—Temples of the Cross.—Travels of Friar Odoric.—Jews and Christians mentioned in an edict.—Mussulman persecutions.—The word "Frank" again in evidence.—Eclipse of Christianity for three hundred years.—Franks under the new Ming dynasty; concerted silence of Chinese historians.—Arrival of Portuguese Franks with their guns.—St. Francis Xavier comes from Japan to convert China.—Unfavourable impressions left by the Portuguese traders.—Establishment of an episcopal see at Macao.—First missionaries in the interior of Kwang Tung.—Arrival of Ricci.—Suspicions cause them to quit; he establishes a mission at Nanking, and visits Peking.—Success.—Judæa identified with Ta-ts'in.—Ricci visited by the Chinese Jews.—Nestorian stone not yet discovered.—Ill-will of a high official causes the expulsion of the Peking and Nanking missionaries to Macao.—Persecutions.—Rise of the Manchu power.—Need of Frank guns. Missionaries sent for.—Discovery of the Nestorian stone.—Statistics of converts in 1627.—Reform of the Calendar by Schall; Mussulman jealousy; Schall manufactures guns.—The Manchus take Peking, and patronise the missionaries.—Accession of the emperor K'ang-hi.—Efforts of Spanish regulars in China thwarted by the Portuguese.—Mussulman malice at Peking.—Schall sentenced to death.—K'ang-hi takes over power from the Regents, and patronises Verbiest.—Guns and Christianity once more.—Louis XIV. sends more missionaries.—Gerbillon and the Russians.—Louis and K'ang-hi subscribe to build a new cathedral. — Unfortunate question of ancestral rites; the Jesuit view.—The Spanish (Dominican and Franciscan) view.—Changeable action of the Holy See under conflicting counsels.—Decision of the Manchu emperor in favour of the Jesuits.—Bishop Tournon sent to negotiate with him.—The Bull *Ex quó singulari* brings disputes to a crisis.—Persecutions under two succeeding emperors. —Abolition of the Society of Jesus; Peking placed under the Lazarists.—The French Revolution and after.—Slight improvement after the first English war.—Second English war, in which France joins; the T'ai-p'ing rebellion.—The *pia fraus* of Abbé Delamarre.—The Tientsin Massacre.—Shifting of the Peking Cathedral, and concession of official rank to all missionaries.—Statistics of all the Roman Church missions in the Chinese empire.

SOON after the persecutions of 845, in which Manicheans and Nestorians alike had suffered, a series of rebellions broke out in China; the T'ang dynasty collapsed; for half a century the Empire was divided up into a number of contending states —almost each province claiming to possess an emperor or a king;—and then for 300 years (900-1200) Tartars of various kinds once more dominated North China, whilst the Sung dynasty (Marco Polo's Manzi) ruled the south. There are authentic traces of Jews during this period, as we have seen; but Nestorianism seems to have absolutely disappeared, so far as written records of its continued existence are concerned. The word "Great Virtue" only appears once, and even then almost at the very close; in the years 1196-1197 the Golden Dynasty of Nüchên Tartars, already menaced by the rising power of Genghis Khan, decided to raise money by selling "salvation certificates" in order to provide for the army expenses, and certain rules were made limiting the age and numbers of professed bonzes, *s'râmaṇêras*, Taoists, and Great Virtues; at that time K'ai-fêng Fu was in the Nüchên dominions, and indeed in 1214, as the Mongols advanced, became the Nüchên capital, so that we may well believe some stray Nestorians had remained there, or had come in the wake of the Jews of 1163. When Genghis Khan found himself amongst the strange religions of the West, he seems to have been struck with certain qualms of conscience, so he despatched from his camp near Samarcand one of his Mussulman generals named Djabar Khodjo to fetch from Shan Tung a celebrated Taoist recluse whom he wished to consult on spiritual matters; the journal of this recluse is extant, and has been translated into English; as he was approaching a town between modern Gutchen and Urumtsi, he was welcomed by the chief of the *tieh-sieh* (the *tersa* or Christians). On his return to China this Taoist enjoyed power, even over the Buddhists, until his death in 1227; but in 1253 a Kashmirian Buddhist named Nama was placed by Mangu Khan over the rival bonzes, and polemical disputations took place at court. Such was the alarm caused in Europe by the Mongol conquests, that after the council of Lyons in 1245 Pope Innocent IV. despatched John de Plano Carpini and other monks to intercede with Genghis' son, the new Khan Ogdai. Ogdai was dead and Kayuk was being crowned when Carpini reached Sira-Ordo in 1247; two of the Great Khan's ministers were found to be Greek Christians who maintained a chapel there at the Khan's expense. This agreeable discovery led many other monks from Syria, Babylonia, and the land of the Alans (Tartars of the Aral) to visit the Khan, whose physicians, according to the Persian authors, were Christians. This last statement is interesting, for the Mongol history, which in one place says Aisie was a Fuh-lin man (Frank), a linguist, astrologer, and physician, actually asserts that he served Kayuk, and that subsequently in 1263 was chief physician and astrologer to Kublai; in 1273 he is once styled a Mussulman, and his hospital at Peking was officially called the "Broad Charity": on his death he was made Prince of Fuh-lin, having already when alive been created Duke of Ts'in Kingdom (Byzantine Empire). Louis IX. despatched Bartholomew of Cremona and William of Rubruquis to the sub-khan, Sartach (on the Volga), where they met with some Nestorians; and to Mangu Khan (at Karakoram), where they found Armenian, Russian, and Nestorian priests. Haithon, King of Armenia, also visited Sartach (on his way to Mangu's court), and found him a Christian. Rubruquis says there were Nestorians in fifteen of the Chinese "*civitatibus*" (provincial capitals), with a bishop at Segin (probably *Si-king* or "Western capital," for the name Si-ngan or Si-an did not then yet exist); they were very corrupt, and repeated their Syriac ritual like parrots, without knowing in the least what it meant. Mangu Khan arranged a "field-day" for disputes between Nestorians, Catholics, Mussulmans, Taoists, and Buddhists. Rubruquis was the victorious champion for the first two, but he says nothing of Taoists. Mangu congratulated him and said: "We Tartars recognise one God, at whose beck we live and die, and to whom our hearts are always converted. But, just as God has given us several fingers to our hands, so has he graciously granted to men many ways leading to celestial bliss. Thus he has given to the *tieh-sieh* the *Mi-shï-ho* (Messiah, Gospels), and to us Mongols the Shamans. On the other hand, you have now been some time in our realm; take steps towards returning to your own country." This was in 1254. But in 1256 Mangu, whose mother was a Christian, had another bout; this time in the absence of the doughty Christian champion; and he decided for Buddhism,—"the thumb," whilst Taoism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam were styled mere "fingers." There are proofs that under Kublai Taoists continued to enjoy some credit,—even after 1285, when they were finally humiliated by their rivals the Buddhists, and with his official sanction.

Allusion has already been made to Kublai Khan's decree of 1262; the persons of "other religions" who had to give military service were *Elkoën* or *Erkun* (Arkôns) and Danishmends (Mollahs); it has been proved that the Mongols used to call Christians by this name—*ye-li-k'o-wên* as it appears in Chinese—which is perhaps the Greek ἄρχων in its Syraic form; another decree of 1264 ordains that they, as well as mollahs, bonzes, and Taoist priests, must pay land-tax and trade-taxes. In that year a "Western bonze" was ordered to pray for rain, but it is not clear what religion is intended; evidently neither Chinese Buddhists nor Taoists were meant, for in 1266 these were both specially ordered to pray for rain; to judge by three other decrees in 1286-1287, probably Hindoo Buddhist priests or Kashmirians are intended. In 1267, and again in 1292, the four religious groups, and also stage-post managers, were exempted from certain military services. In 1270, and again in 1282, the same four classes, if married contrary to their disciplinary laws, were placed on a level as to taxes, etc., with ordinary lay folk; in the same year the student bonzes of Tangut were prohibited from occupying private land under false pretences. At this time China, Tangut, Transoxiana, and Turkestan were the most easterly four of the sixty-four Nestorian Sees, under the Patriarch at Bagdad. In 1887 Mr Labaree, an American missionary in Persia, discovered a Syrian sketch proving that in the thirteenth century one of the Patriarchs had come from China along with a second Nestorian. Marco Polo mentions Christians at Bagdad, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Samarcand; also at Sacchiou (Sha Chou), Succiur (Suh Chou), and Campichu (Kan, or Kam Chou), all three in Tangut; besides other places in the modern provinces of Shan Si (where he calls them "Argon"), Chih Li, and Yün Nan. Mar Nestorius was the metropolitan at Peking when Marco first arrived there in 1275. In 1271 Kublai had written to the Pope to ask for a hundred Catholic literates, in consequence of which Nicholas III. sent some letters in reply by a Franciscan mission (1277-1280); just at that time, according to Marco Polo, Kublai sent a Nestorian, named Mar Sarghiz, as governor of Cin-ghingiu (Chinkiang Fu), where he built two churches. Within the past generation the Russian Archimandrite Palladius has discovered confirmation of this circumstance in a fourteenth century Chinese work on Chinkiang, even to the name of Mar Sarghiz:

> "Samarcand is a country where the religion of the Elkoën dominates. The founder of the religion was called Mar Elia (the Lord Elias). *Ma Sie-li-ki-sz* is a follower of Him, and also built a church at Hangchow."

Unfortunately, in 1308, the hostile Buddhists got the upper hand in these parts, and turned both churches into temples. According to Marco Polo, Nayen, Lord of Manchuria, who was defeated and slain in 1287 by Kublai near Mukden, was a Christian, and fought under the Banner of the Cross; but the Chinese say nothing to suggest it. The Quilon Christian mission in 1282 has already been mentioned; it was sent by *U-tsa-r P'ieh-li-ma*, which suggests "the *Ustâd*[1] Ephraim." Meanwhile the Franciscan, John of Montecorvino, had reached Khanbalig (Peking), founded his bishopric, and built his church (1289); unfortunately he lacked a sufficiency of coadjutors, and found himself seriously obstructed by the jealous Nestorians. Kublai died in 1294, and was succeeded by his grandson Timur. Montecorvino was created Archbishop and Primate of the Far East by Clement V. in 1307, and two bishops came out the following year in order to consecrate and reinforce him. For some unexplained reason the next Great Khan, Hayshan, renewed the old ordnance that bonzes, Taoists, Arkôns, and Danishmends should pay taxes like other folk; this order was confirmed, both as to land-tax and customs-dues, in 1309, in spite of a vigorous protest from the Buddhist hierarchy. Something must have occurred to irritate the Emperor; probably the outrageous violence of the Buddhist monks at Shang-tu (Xanadu) in 1307-1308: the result was that the official bureaux of all religions were entirely suppressed in 1310. It is not clear why the Buddhist office was also closed, for Hayshan showed a foolish tolerance of the ruffianly monks. Western writers mention a Catholic bishopric in Zaitun (near Amoy, in Fuh Kien), and a church built there by a rich Armenian lady; the bishop, Mgr. Gérard, died about 1313.

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[1] The Jewish inscription, which also makes use of the Mussulman title *mollah*, uses this Persian word for "rabbi" in the form *U-ss-tah*, as we have already seen.

The Mongol history has numerous mentions of foreign trade there; in 1308 a certain *Ma-ho-ma-tan-ti*, who was trading there, sent the Emperor some presents, including Turkestan horses, etc. In 1314 Ayulipalipatra, brother and successor of Hayshan, once more exempted priests of the four religions from certain taxes; this edict, full and translated copies of which in Mongol and Chinese still exist, is well known to specialists. In 1315 the Arkôn Temple of the Cross at Peking was completely reorganised and raised to a higher status:

> "The seventy-two Arkôn faith-managing offices (? dioceses) within the Empire are abolished, and their affairs are transferred to this one bureau."

In 1320 a further unimportant change in nomenclature was made. The new Bishop of Zaitun, Mgr. Péregrin (one of the two who had been sent out to consecrate Montecorvino), died in 1322. In 1324 an edict appeared ordering that all Arkôns were to conduct fasts according to their own teaching, and that both they and the Danishmends were to be exempt from forced labour demands. Amongst the wandering monks who visited China about now was the celebrated Franciscan Friar Odoric of Frioul, whose account of his experiences with Montecorvino at Peking we have in our European libraries; he also found a Franciscan convent in existence at Yang-chou Fu, where there were "plusieurs autres Églises de religieux, mais ceulz sont nestorins." It was

Odoric's intention to fetch fifty more monks to China, but he died at Utini in 1331 on his way home. In 1328, or, as one account says, 1330, Montecorvino died, and was succeeded in 1333 by Archbishop Nicholas, who only reached Peking in 1342. He was unconsciously crossed on his way by a mission from the Khan to the Pope, asking for a successor to Montecorvino: Benedict XII. sent back four Franciscans with these messengers (1338). In 1329 a decree ordered Arkôns, *Shuh-hu* (Jews), and Danishmends to pay taxes under former laws. It has already been stated that the mother of Mangu (and of Kublai, a niece of "Prester John" of the Keraits) was a Christian, and that Marco Polo found some Christians at Campichu: the following edict of 1335, with its rescript, is therefore interesting:—

> "The Grand Council represents that the Temple of the Cross in the Kam Chou circuit contains the remains of the late Dowager-Empress, mother of his late Majesty Divus Secularis (Kublai), and advises that the proper rites in her spiritual honour be fixed. Agreed to."

In 1338 a Franciscan mission had been founded in Ili by Pascal de Vittoria, but it was destroyed within five years. Dynastic quarrels, recriminations, and murders had been going on for some time in connection with the succession, in which struggles, as we have seen, the Mussulmans took a grave part. According to Catholic missionary accounts (which, however, are not supported by precise evidence), a cruel Mussulman persecution of Christians took place under the last Khan Toghun Timur (1333-1368). Benedict XII., then at Avignon, received letters dated 1336 from him, and also from the Alan Tartars in his service at Peking: the envoy bearing these letters was a *francus* named Andrea: indeed, this is the mission above alluded to which, in some way, crossed that of Nicholas (1333-1342). It is a significant thing that the official Mongol history mentions in 1342 the arrival of a man from ***Fuh-lang*** country (its first mention in that form) with the present of a fine horse. In 1362 Jacques de Florence, fifth Bishop of Zaitun, was massacred, and soon after that the whole Mongol empire in China began to fall in pieces.

However unconnected and incomplete the above mass of information may be—and it is by no means all that is available—it is abundantly plain that, during the whole of the Mongol dynasty (1206-1368), both Nestorianism and the Church of Rome were steadily represented in the Far East. Although nothing definite is recorded of the former during the three centuries of time China was ruled by Cathayans and Nüchens in the north and the Sung dynasty in the south, it seems impossible to doubt that many foreign religions must have flourished, or at least existed, peacefully and unobtrusively, under the negative protection of the indulgent and highly literary house of Sung; if not, indeed, also among the rough Tartars of

Tangut, Cathay, and what we now call Manchuria. Another complete eclipse of three hundred years was now about to take place. During four-fifths of the native Ming dynasty (1368-1644), it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the very idea of "Christian," not to say the word, or any word for it, does not once occur in the Chinese annals.

On the accession of the Ming dynasty, a Fuh-lin man named Nie-ku-lun was discovered in China; he had come to trade, and the new emperor conceived the idea in 1371 of sending him back home with letters announcing the conquest of China by a native house. It is scarcely fair to assume from such slender testimony that this man was Archbishop Nicholas; yet it is a fact that in 1370 Urban V. appointed a new archbishop in the person of William de Prato, who was accompanied by twelve Franciscans. Nothing further is known of either event. The Manchus, in publishing the history of the Ming house, seem to have most scrupulously expunged every scrap of information touching Russia and Europe, at least until Western events touched themselves, and therefore had to be noticed. In 1517 the first *Fuh-lang-ki* ships appeared at Canton; these were the Portuguese, who had just asserted their power over Malacca, and had now for the first time discovered plainly that the China they were menacing by sea was the Cathay of Marco Polo and other Western writers as observed by land. What most impressed the Chinese were the formidable guns of the strangers, which in some parts of China still retain the name "Frank," given to them at the time; the exclusive use of the word "Frank" for "French" and for Spaniards as well, suggests that this generic term was obtained through the Arab and Persian traders of old standing. Meanwhile St. Francis Xavier had discovered in Japan how many of the educated people then studied Chinese ideas, and he therefore determined in 1552 to proceed to the larger empire; but he died at a small island off the Canton coast, very shortly after his arrival. A Portuguese Dominican, named Gaspard a Cruce, had some temporary success; but the violence of the Frank traders had by this time alarmed the government, which was moreover by no means favourably impressed by the specimens of Western civilisation sent by the Portuguese from Canton to negotiate terms at Peking. Whilst on the one hand the trading ships were attempting to share the flourishing trade of Ningpo, Amoy, and other ports along the coast, their ecclesiastical colleagues in the south had established an episcopal See at Macao, where by some underhand dealings with the Portuguese commanders the corrupt mandarins had been bribed into allowing them to create a military base. The possession of Macao has only been legalised within the past few years, and ecclesiastically all China (*in partibus*) is supposed to fall under this ancient diocese.

The first missionaries to obtain a real foothold in China were the Jesuits P.P. Ruggieri and Pasio, who were all the better qualified for their work in that they had undergone a course of Chinese study at Macao; in the year 1582 they succeeded, by offering judicious gifts at Canton, in ingratiating themselves with the Chinese Viceroy, and at last obtained permission from him to settle much further up the river at Shiu-hing (Chao-k'ing), then the official capital of the "Two Kwang" provinces. Matthew Ricci followed them in 1583. Being a profound mathematician, very erudite, and also patient and courteous to boot, he greatly impressed the educated natives, many of whom placed themselves under the training of the missionaries; he occupies an imperishable place in official Chinese history. Ruggieri and two new arrivals managed to extend operations to Hangchow, and also to one or two places in Central China; but meanwhile suspicions as to their motives had been aroused, and the missionaries had very soon to quit Shiu-hing. Ricci, observing that the continued success of his mission was at the mercy of local mandarin caprice, set out in 1595 for Peking: on his way, beset by numerous obstacles and incredible troubles, he founded a mission under P. Cataneo at Nanking, and it was only after six years of finesse, difficulty, and interruption that he at last arrived with P. Didaco in Peking; whither, indeed, the Emperor had ordered him to be sent, in order that he might better understand the meaning of the reports on Ricci's movements which kept arriving at the metropolis.

The story of his brilliant success at the Chinese capital has often been told in detail; even the (later) Prime Minister Sü Kwang-k'i, usually known as Paul Sü (local Zi), was among his supporters and converts. Ricci was made Superior of all the Jesuits in China, established a Noviciate for Chinese at Peking, and also a clerical seminary at Macao; besides—through judiciously worked influences—securing the success of the Nanking, Ch'ao-chou (Swatow) and Nan-ch'ang (Kiang Si) missions under PP. Pantoja, Longobardi, and Soerius. Meanwhile he had not been idle in the direction of Chinese studies; and in preparing for the high officials, so ignorant of geography and science in general, some explanatory maps of the Five Continents, he was able to make clear to them that Ju-tê-ya (Judæa), where the Lord of Heaven preached by him was born, was no other than the Ta-ts'in of ancient Han history. There were not wanting opponents of Ricci in the Board of Rites and other conservative quarters; the old denunciations of Buddhism by Han Yü were quoted as apt applications to Ricci's relics of the saints, and his strange doctrine of the "Lord of Heaven's Mother," the Incarnation, and the Resurrection: the "intellectuals" were of course acquainted with the historical religious disputes touching the Manicheans, Buddhists, Nestorians, and Taoists. Meanwhile occurred the episode of the visit to Peking of one of the K'ai-fêng Jews, which, though interesting enough to Ricci as a historical reminiscence, would naturally not be noised abroad by a highly educated French Jesuit, who, it may be presumed, was in no hurry to proclaim to the Chinese his spiritual relationship with the Persian or Syrian Jews whose hierarchical ancestors had crucified his Master.

Ricci died in 1610, some years before the discovery of the Nestorian stone, which places the Ta-ts'in question, the birth of Christ, and the connection with Persia, on a comparatively secure Chinese basis, and which therefore would have greatly rejoiced his heart. His successor was Longobardi; but in 1616 the ill-will of a high official named Shên K'ioh brought about the expulsion of the missionaries from Peking and Nanking, whence they were dismissed to Macao. When the "White Lily" rebellion of 1622 broke out, this same malicious persecutor endeavoured to identify the teaching of the Christians with the tenets of that subversive Buddhist sect; orders were sent to the provinces, and a general persecution took place all over the empire. The Manchus in the meantime were now beginning to threaten the northern frontiers; this alarming state of affairs induced the Emperor to hearken to the advice of some watchful political Christians, who represented to him the military advantages likely to follow from the employment of those formidable Frank guns. In consequence of this agreeable turn of fortune's wheel, PP. de la Roque, Diaz, and Longobardi once more entered Peking in comparative triumph. It was in 1625 that the first distinct news reached the Jesuits at Hangchow about the discovery of the Nestorian stone. This event, speedily bruited about, was of no small assistance in the propagation of the Gospel, although (in the words of the missionaries themselves):

> "It is redolent of the heretical doctrine, notably as touching the Incarnation, and also because the missionaries of whom it speaks were natives of Syria and Persia, which states were infected at that time with the errors of the Nestorians."

By 1627 there were 13,000 Christians in seven Chinese provinces, including in that total a large number of imperial princes, high officials, and even forty palace eunuchs; in fact it was the eunuch Ma T'ang who had originally obtained for Ricci the reception of his "tribute" as a "West Ocean man." Shên K'ioh had now collapsed, and Paul Sü was Premier.

The next great question was the reform of the Calendar, and in order to accomplish this James Rho and Adam Schall, Jesuits stationed at Si-an Fu, were summoned to Peking and appointed to the Astronomical Board.[1] This action led to serious disputes with the rival Mussulman astronomers, whose Calendar had been in part use since the year 1382, and was practically the same as the one prepared in 1267 for the Mongols by Djamal-uddin; as this again was like that from "West Asia" used in the T'ang dynasty (seventh century), it seems not unlikely that scientific Mussulmans had continuously been employed in China; certainly ever since Kublai Khan sent for them to make artillery. Adam Schall was able to render further valuable assistance in casting bronze cannon for use against the Tartars and the rebels: meanwhile Paul Sü and James Rho had both died. We have seen how in 1642 the rebel leader and the imperial troops between them caused the destruction of the Jewish synagogue at K'ai-fêng Fu; two years later the same rebel took Peking, and the last Ming emperor hanged himself. Probably the rebels, who were fighting against tyranny and oppression, were not so bad as official history makes them out to be, for it seems they spared Adam Schall and all the Christians, who had taken refuge in their church; (it was just 900 years since the Ouigours had butchered the Chinese who took refuge in a Buddhist temple at another Chinese capital). The Manchu Tartars, having been called in to drive the rebels away, and seeing that the *de jure* emperor was now dead, not unnaturally took possession of Peking for themselves; and thus the Ming dynasty came suddenly to an end.

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[1] Schall was a German, and possibly this fact may have induced the Germans to make off in the year 1900 with his astronomical instruments, which now occupy a prominent position on the terrace of Potsdam park.

The first Manchu emperor, on Schall's respectful submission to the new dynasty, not only showed him every consideration, but at his intercession ordered that Christians throughout the empire should be free from molestation; besides this, a magnificent church or cathedral was contructed at the capital. The Emperor was on quite familiar terms with Schall, whom he used to call his *Maffa* (a Manchu term for "old man"); and the young emperor even submitted to instruction in the Christian Faith; however, he died in 1661 unbaptized, and even unconverted, at the early age of twenty-four. The second emperor being young, Regents governed the empire on his behalf. Besides the Jesuits at Peking, there were the missions of the Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans (from Manila) in Fuh Kien. Spanish and Portuguese commercial jealousy led to religious obstruction also being placed in the way of Spaniards at Macao; still, by the year 1665 they had as many as 14,000 Christians in the three coast provinces. The Mussulman astronomer, Yang Kwang-sien, in his disappointment and chagrin, was for a time successful under the Regents in engineering a very active anti-Christian campaign at Peking; he secured the dismissal of Adam Schall, and for himself the coveted Astronomical Presidency. The Board of Rites, always on the look-out in the interests of Confucianism, joined in the hue and cry; Christianity was prohibited, and Schall was even sentenced to death; all the other missionaries (except four who remained in hiding) were sent away to Canton. Through the influence of the Emperor's grandmother (a Mongol Tartar) Schall's sentence of death was cancelled; but the old man's health had broken down under the weight of all these tribulations, and he died in 1665 at the age of seventy-six. When K'ang-hi, a prince of enquiring and scientific mind, himself assumed independent control of the Empire in 1666, one of his first steps was to question the accuracy of the Calendar, and to unearth Ferdinand Verbiest and the other three missionaries who had lain in close concealment. Verbiest took the opportunity, while reforming the Calendar, to plead for and secure better treatment of the Christians throughout the empire; he was all the more able to obtain good terms by his readiness to cast brass guns of large calibre for the Tartar wars in which the Manchus were now engaged, and by his handiness in arranging diplomatic difficulties with the Russians. Louis XIV. of France in 1685 sent out a band of very distinguished Jesuits to reinforce Verbiest at the court of K'ang-hi; this was done in the very nick of time, for Verbiest had died a few days before their arrival in Peking in March 1688; two of the new missionaries PP. Gerbillon and Bouvet, were attached as general advisers to the Emperor's person, and Gerbillon was of great assistance in concluding with Russia the celebrated peace of 1689. He thus secured the patronage of the Czar for his mission.

In the provinces there were various ups and downs, but on the whole things progressed fairly well, and there were by this time 300,000 Christians in various parts of China. The Emperor even allowed a magnificent new cathedral church to be built in the palace grounds; this was done partly at his own expense, King Louis XIV. also contributing. Unfortunately, however, the great question of "rites" arose, which practically decided adversely and for ever the then moot point, "Shall China become officially Christian?" In 1698 the Jesuits begged the Apostolic See to allow those ancestral rites the practice of which was agreeable to the Chinese system of ethics; also to permit the use of the Chinese tongue in the celebration of the liturgy. Both requests were refused, as had previously been the case in 1606 with the Malabar[1] rites in India, when referred to the Holy See for consideration: at that time the Jewish inscriptions in K'ai-fêng Fu had not yet been translated, or even perhaps read; but the example of the Nestorians at any rate was before the prudent Jesuits, who probably judged rightly that it was necessary to compound for a little time with dogma if success in China was to be general: the Chinese literates are past masters in the art of diluting statements of positive belief or positive fact, as is evidenced by the way in which Taoism and Confucianism are ingeniously blended with the Western religions.

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[1] Mention has already been made of missions from the Erkuns or Arkôns of Quilon. However, the further question of Malabar Christians does not fall within the scope of this Chinese enquiry.

Ricci had been of opinion that these ancestral functions, which our first chapter shows to have been from all time of the essence of State teaching, were merely civil rites, and should therefore be allowed to such as abandoned the worship of "idols" and embraced the Christian religion. Longobardi, however, considered that such rites could in no way be permitted without serious injury to religion. Thus the Jesuits themselves had not by any means been at one on this important subject; yet it is probable that their Italian suppleness would have discovered a suitable formula had it not been for the hot and uncompromising zeal of the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans, who unanimously condemned the rites. After his expulsion from Fuh Kien in 1643, P. John Baptist Morales hastened home to represent these rites to the Pope as tainted with superstition; Innocent X. accepted this view, and ordered all missionaries also to observe and accept it until it should otherwise appear good to himself and to the Apostolic See. The Jesuits, considering that the Pope had not had the full arguments fairly laid before him, despatched P. Martini to convince the Propaganda that these rites were really mere civil forms, as originally defined by Ricci. Alexander VII. now allowed this contrary view. As the dispute still went on, it was decided by Clement IX. in 1669 that both the decrees held good, but that their application must be regulated according to specific circumstances. As things were still uncomfortable, Innocent XI. and Innocent XII. sent out Bishop Charles Maigrot of the Missions Etrangères to try and restore peace amongst the rival missionaries; in 1693 he ordered that the term Lord of Heaven should be exclusively used for "God" to the exclusion of the (more ancient) terms "Emperor-of-Above" and "Heaven"; that the tablets inscribed "in veneration of Heaven" should be removed from churches: he laid down that some of the arguments submitted to Alexander VII. were untrue; and that his decree must not be taken to allow to Christians ancestral or Confucian worship, or the half-yearly official ceremonies in connection therewith.

Thus the ground was once more shifted, and "discretion" had little chance to compromise. In reply to the fresh Jesuit appeal of 1698, Innocent XII. had remitted the matter to the Inquisition: meanwhile, to strengthen their position, the Peking Jesuits adopted the serious political step of inviting the Emperor K'ang-hi to state his royal views. These were that the rites in question were free from all superstition and idolatry. In 1704 Bishop Tournon was sent to Peking as Special Legate, but the Emperor having meanwhile learnt that the decision was likely to go against him, and having found Maigrot, whom he summoned before him, too independent for his taste, and too exigent in the Pope's interest, grew exasperated; after some angry recriminations he drove him out of China (1706). The disappointed Legate on his part also left Peking, and proclaimed the same year at Nanking the final constitution of Clement XI., ordering the universal obedience of all missionaries and Christians under pain of excommunication; and their submission to the new apostolic constitution issued in accordance with the spirit of Maigrot's mandate. On this the Emperor ordered him to be delivered into the custody of the Portuguese at Macao, where he was treated with such indignity that he ultimately died there in 1710. Visdelou, the next Vicar-Apostolic, had to repair to India, and was unable to live in China at all; for the Emperor had resolved that no one in future should preach the Gospel without his licence, which again would not be granted to any one who should either disapprove the ancestral rites or ever contemplate leaving China for Europe. The Jesuits were the only missionaries who applied for licences; but, on the other hand, after some further protests, they accepted with full submission the decrees of the Apostolic See (1710). In 1721 the Legate Mezzobarba arrived in Peking, and endeavoured by arguments to induce the triumphant Emperor to allow Chinese Christians to obey the pontifical decrees; but as Maigrot had already in 1706 made the fatal mistake of telling the Emperor that he was "no judge in the cause, the solution of which lay solely with the Pope," he had no success in his attempt to veer the irate monarch. From Macao he issued the same year a pastoral letter "conceding certain points"; but this vacillation and arrogation of power to himself only aroused further dissension among the missionaries, and was besides disavowed by Clement XII. in 1735. At last his successor, Benedict XIV., by his Bull *Ex quô singulari* reviewed and clinched the whole unfortunate business by prescribing an oath for all at any time engaged in the China mission work; demanding the most complete and absolute observance, under the severest spiritual penalties, of everything contained in that his constitution, prohibiting the rites in every sense without qualification or concession of any kind.

War was now declared with a vengeance against the Church; the old Emperor had died in 1721, and his son, who was a good man, but personally rather inclined towards Taoist mysticism, initiated a steady persecution of the Christians; he wrote several "orders" directly to Pope Benedict XIII., making it quite plain that he intended to be sole master in his own empire; he was all the more embittered against religion in that his own brother was caught intriguing with one John Morão, and "disobeying national custom in order to follow the teaching of outlandish bonzes"—exactly what had happened, as already related, when the first Buddhists came in A.D. 67. Over 300 churches were either promptly destroyed or converted into pagan temples; it was only their mathematical science and general usefulness that exempted a handful of missionaries from exile. Persecutions continued under the reign of the next emperor, K'ien-lung, perhaps the cleverest man who ever reigned over China; he was not disposed to tolerate the intermeddling of any priests—Taoists, Buddhists, or otherwise—in the affairs of his State. In the year 1773 the Society of Jesus was abolished altogether by Clement XIV., and the members of their China Mission were now compelled to bend the neck and work as secular priests under ordinary episcopal jurisdiction. Two years later the splendid Peking cathedral was destroyed by fire; but K'ien-lung was sufficiently broad-minded to subscribe towards a new one; in fact he, like his predecessors and successors, would have "lived and let live," had the missionaries been content to respect the law of China. The first Lazarist bishop, Mgr. Raux, arrived there in 1784, and ever since that the Peking cure has been in the hands of the Mission Congregation, as the Lazarists are officially termed.

The rest of the history of Catholic Missions in China down to the English war of 1842 and the opening of five treaty ports is a somewhat monotonous though, of course, sad repetition of "martyrdoms" (being caught), "persecutions" (enforcement of the law), and hide-and-seek. The French Revolution did not improve matters for them, as may be supposed, and the missions were reduced to great extremities. Louis XVIII. revived the abolished societies of the Missions Etrangères, St. Lazare, and the St. Esprit (1815-1816); and in 1842 the Jesuits, whose

Society had been restored by Pius VII. in 1814, were entrusted with the Nanking mission, where they still are at work. Gregory XVI. divided China, including Manchuria and Mongolia, into a number of Vicariats-Apostolic, over which he placed bishops *in partibus*, nominally under the real See of Macao. After the English war, Louis Philippe sent an envoy to China, and an edict favourable to Christianity was obtained; but the unsatisfactory condition of native Christians remained about the same, and the missionaries were not allowed to penetrate into the interior: still, the conditions were easier, and many missionaries, as, for instance, the celebrated Abbé Huc and his companion Gabet, who worked their way as Mongols through "Egrigaia" to Lhasa, succeeded in carrying the faith to the most remote places. In a short space of time 30,000 Christians could once more be counted in the empire. The Emperor Hien-fêng (husband of the present masterful Dowager, who patronises both Buddhist and Taoist archimandrites), was, it is said, brought up or nursed by a Christian matron, and at first seemed, according to missionary accounts, inclined to favour Christianity; but during his feeble reign (1851-1861) broke out the second European war and the T'ai-p'ing rebellion; the rebel leader at first gained some foreign (Protestant) sympathy on account of his Christian professions; but when he began to masquerade as the brother of Jesus Christ, and his followers to indulge in promiscuous massacres, his head was sought by

Chinese and Europeans alike as a *lupinum caput.* Nanking fell in 1864, and he committed suicide. After the final peace of 1860 with the Allies, the Emperor had promised that all the Church property seized throughout a century or more of persecutions should be restored to it; the Peking cathedral was repaired and cleaned; and Mgr. Mouly, who had up to that time been working in secret, then assumed public charge of his flock. It was now that the Abbé Delamarre, without the knowledge of the French Minister, introduced into the Chinese text of the treaty the famous clause, which was only detected by the Chinese when too late, "giving permission to the French missionaries to hire or purchase lands in all the provinces and to build upon such at their pleasure." The British Ministers have always declined to avail themselves (under the most-favoured nation clause) of this provision. By 1870 there were 254 European and about 150 native priests, with 404,530 converts.

The Tientsin massacre of 1870, aimed chiefly against the French missionaries there, could not be adequately avenged on account of the Franco-German war having broken out; Catholic influence in China, which henceforth might be considered synonymous with French influence, fell to zero, but received some accession after the Franco-Chinese war of 1884: it was reserved for M. Gérard, French Minister from 1893 to 1897, to restore the interests of the Roman Church committed to France's care to their zenith of glory. After prolonged negotiations, the Lazarist bishop, Mgr. Favier,[1] arranged for the transfer of K'ien-lung's cathedral to a site outside the walls less compromising to Imperial Manchu dignity; on the other hand, he obtained from the Chinese Government, for all missionaries, the concession of Chinese official rank. Whether all the Vicars-Apostolic will avail themselves of this, or will, like the Protestants, decline to accept it, is a question which lies with the unknown future; the other Catholics are certainly not bound by any arrangement the Bishop at Peking (who is but a peer, and not even *primus inter pares*) may see fit to make; and it is very doubtful if the wary Jesuits, who, however, are much too shrewd to "give anything away," will find that it is worth their while to make free use of so compromising a gift.

At present the Roman missions in China are divided into five regions, and the thirty-two Vicariats of Pope Gregory XVI. have been increased to thirty-eight, in addition to which there are two Prefectures-General and one mere "mission." In Chih Li there are four; three Lazarist, and one Jesuit. In Manchuria, two; Missions Etrangères of Paris. In Mongolia, three; Missions Etrangères of Scheut. In North Ho Nan, one; Missions Etrangères of Milan. Total, first region, about 200,000 Christians, 50,000 catechumens, 12,000 churches or chapels. In Shan Tung, three; two Franciscan, one Missions Etrangères of Steyl. In

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[1] Died in April last almost on the day these lines were written.

Shan Si, two Franciscan. In Shen Si, one Franciscan, one Missions Etrangères of Rome. Kan Suh and Sin Kiang, one Belgian. Total, second region, about 120,000 Christians, 80,000 catechumens, 900 chapels. In Kiang Nan (An Hwei, Nanking, and Shanghai), one, Jesuit. In Chêh Kiang, one, Lazarist. In Kiang Si three, Lazarist. In Hu Pêh, three Franciscan. In South Ho Nan one, Missions Etrangères of Milan. In Hu Nan two, Franciscan and Lazarist. Total, third region, 240,000 Christians, 130,000 catechumens, 1700 chapels. In Kwei Chou, one; Sz Ch'wan, three; Yun Nan, one; Tibet, one; all Missions Etrangères of Paris. Total, fourth region, Christians 120,000; catechumens (not given); 300 churches and chapels. In Kwang Tung and Kwang Si each one, Missions Etrangères of Paris. In Fuh Kien two, Dominicans. In Hongkong (which is not, however, China) one, Missions Etrangères of Milan. Total, fifth region, 110,000 Christians, 30,000 catechumens, 700 churches. All the above are supposed to be in some way under the ancient Diocese of Macao, which was the only one preserved of the three original Sees, when Peking and Nanking were abolished previous to Pope Gregory's changes. The Two Kwang establishments are only Prefectures-Apostolic, and the Belgian one in Kan Suh is only a "mission." Thus, including the thirty-eight Vicariats-Apostolic, there are forty-two mutually independent Roman missions, with 1063 European and 493 native priests, 4961 places of worship, and 803,000 Christians. Formosa used to be attached to the Amoy Dominican Vicariat (Fuh Kien): it has 10 European priests, and 17 churches; 1900 Christians, and 200 catechumens; but now it is Japanese territory. The above figures are mostly for 1903, many for 1904, a few only for 1902.

To give some idea of the progress made since the returns of 1866, it may be stated that, in that year, there were 263 European and 243 native priests, having care over 383,580 Christians. There were 22 Bishops and one Superior at work, including the heads of the Two Kwang missions (then joined in one). Chih Li (4) and Sz Ch'wan (3) were the only provinces with more than one bishop. Shen Si and Kan Suh were joined in one; and Ho Nan had only a Superior. In the year 1873 there were 278 European and 233 native priests, with 430,000 Christians, under 21 bishops, three provicars (Hu Pêh and Ho Nan), and one prefect (Hongkong); but these figures, unlike those of 1866, do not include Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Shortly afterwards (1875) Hongkong and Ho Nan were made bishoprics (Bishop Volonteri, the first of Ho Nan died in December 1904); a third provicariat was added to Hu Pêh.

there seems to have been Robert Morrison, of the London Missionary Society, who reached Macao in September 1807, after a voyage from New York of 113 days. No doubt the mission of Lord Macartney to Peking in 1793, and the fact that his former page, George Staunton, was in 1807 serving the East India Company as secretary at the Canton factory, had something to do with this new missionary enterprise. Morrison's first notion was to live on Chinese food and wear the "pigtail"; but he soon came to the conclusion that this course was not the wisest. One of the first things he heard from Staunton (afterwards Sir George) was that he must look out for Roman Catholic jealousy at Macao, which place, in fact, the English somewhat rashly occupied for a short time in 1808. In 1813 his associate Dr Milne arrived with his wife to assist, and from that date Morrison preached regularly at both Macao and Canton. Having studied Hebrew, Latin, and theology, he was, after he had set to work to learn Chinese, quite a competent man for the task he undertook of translating the whole Bible into Chinese; George IV. accepted a copy from him when he went home on leave in 1824. His well-known Chinese dictionary, though comparatively obsolete since the labours of Sir Thomas Wade and Dr Williams have placed the "mandarin" dialects on a more scientific basis, was subsequently printed at the cost of the East India Company. In 1829 Morrison was again at Macao, where at a complimentary meeting his many admirers subscribed to present him with his portrait; he died in 1834. The American Board Mission sent out Mr E. C. (afterwards Dr) Bridgeman in 1830; and then the medical missionary, Dr Lockhart, was sent out by the London Mission in 1839. The first became widely known in due time as the author of a Chinese-English Chrestomathy, and the latter first established the hospital at Canton which, under the subsequent able management of Dr Hobson, Dr Carmichael, and Dr John Kerr, has been such a powerful civilising and conciliating agent in the south of China. Another distinguished American, S. Wells Williams, came out as a printer for the Board Mission in 1833.

Dr Carl Gutzlaff, a German, but of the Netherlands Missionary Society, had done work in Java, and also with the English missionary, Tomlin, in Siam, before he appeared in Macao in 1831. He seems to have spent some years in travelling up and down the coast as an interpreter for the opium ships, and occasionally in junks, converting, or trying to convert the rough Chinese seamen, and picking up various local dialects. He became a fast friend of Morrison, who assisted him in every possible way. He and Dr Medhurst, who had also served as a missionary in Java, busied themselves about a new translation of the Bible into Chinese. He did not approve of the opium trade, and in 1839 was glad to find more respectable occupation as translator in serving the British

Government, then on the verge of hostilities with China; in 1842 he obtained the post of third interpreter, and assisted in arranging the conditions of peace at Nanking. In 1843 Medhurst established the London Missionary Society's Shanghai branch; he also, by his dictionary and other labours, has left a sinological reputation of no mean calibre behind him; he died in 1857. Gutzlaff, meanwhile, remained in the south, where he founded the Rhenish and Basel Missions, the former for the speakers of the Punti group, the latter for the speakers of the Hakka group of dialects in Kwang Tung province; in 1847 four missionaries, two for each German mission, were sent out to reinforce him. In spite of his zeal and learning, Gutzlaff seems to have been a simple-minded and rather credulous man, of which fact advantage was eagerly taken by the native colporteurs, who exploited his want of foresight, and thus somewhat marred his reputation.

Dr Legge of the London Missionary Society arrived from Malacca in Hongkong (which had now become British territory) in 1843; besides establishing a college and church there, he founded a mission at Pok-lo on the mainland. His annotated translations of the Chinese classics, and numerous other literary labours, have given imperishable lustre to his name. In 1844 a branch mission of the same enterprising society was established by Rev. John Stronach at Amoy, where already in 1842 Dr Boone of the American

Episcopal Church had made a beginning; followed in 1843 by Dr Hepburn, M.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, just deceased at the age of ninety. In 1850 Bishop Smith came to Hongkong, and, as we have seen, at once set to work to discover all he could about the Chinese Jews in Ho Nan province. One of the most remarkable and lovable of the Protestant missionaries of the old school was Alexander Wylie, who has been styled the "Livingstone of China." He originally came out in 1847 as a printer for the London Missionary Society, for whom he subsequently did much colporteur and general work; having lost his wife within a year of his marriage to her, he thenceforth resolutely gave himself up to a solitary life of labour and self-sacrifice; even the Jesuits, who are no lovers of Protestants, habitually speak of "*le regretté* Wylie," whose splendid sinological labours take a place in the highest rank for scrupulous care, fairness, courtesy, and trustworthiness. He was the humblest and most tolerant of men; but at the same time inexorably calm, persevering, and determined in following out his own line of conduct. Unfortunately, his immense powers were weakened by a stroke of paralysis in 1883; his eyesight then failed him, and he gradually passed away somewhat sadly at home in 1887, at the ripe age of seventy-one. The above list by no means exhausts the tale of the "pre-Tientsin treaty" Protestant missionaries, but it contains the most prominent names from a literary and historical point of view. The spiritual results were naturally not very great, for in those days Chinese was very little understood—at least from a literary point of view,—and a competent interpreter for official purposes was indeed a *rara avis in "terris cœlestibus."*

After the final treaty of 1860, which put an end to the Allied War, a new era opened for China; missionaries were no longer obliged to confine their efforts to the five treaty ports, and, moreover, a large number of new ports were opened, and therefore available as bases for pioneers. The German missionaries in the south had had to fly for their lives in 1856, but were now able to go back to their posts in a more legalised way. Hitherto no Protestant missionaries had ever adopted the Chinese costume; on the other hand, all the Roman Catholic missionaries had always done so. A perfect avalanche of zealous Protestant preachers now descended upon China, Americans adding their numbers to the existing British and German squadrons. By the year 1864 there were 190 missionaries belonging to twenty-four different Protestant societies, occupying eleven principal stations, mostly, of course, the thirteen old and new treaty-ports, with about twice as many outlying pioneer posts. The first attempts to settle in Hangchow were made jointly in 1859 by Rev J. S. (afterwards Bishop) Burdon, of the Church Missionary Society, and by Dr Nevius, an American; the T'ai-p'ings occupied the place from 1862 to 1864, and that circumstance of course put an end to any chance of preaching there. When the rebellion was completely crushed, a new prospect again opened for China. Mr Taylor of the new China Inland Mission appeared upon the scene in 1866 and established stations in Chêh Kiang province; his colleague, the well-known missionary, Rev. J. W. Stevenson (afterwards at Bhamo in Burma), held the fort at Shao-hing near Ningpo in 1868, and gradually these inland operations spread all over China. Mr Taylor died on the 3rd June as these words were written (1905). The distinguishing features of the Taylor Mission, as it used at first to be called, were that no pecuniary support was guaranteed, and that the missioners wore Chinese clothes. There was no objection to this so far as males were concerned; for indeed the average European civilian in the perspiring East looks more distinguished, and certainly cleaner, in Chinese dress than in his own: but when the ladies began to don short Chinese trousers, the combination of large feet (which of course they could not "squeeze") and European chignons (for of course the "tea-pot" style was too troublesome, and only compatible with Chinese neck pillows) had the effect of suggesting to the prurient Chinese mind feminine associations of a highly undesirable nature; so by degrees the women, more especially out of doors, went back to European attire. Meanwhile Sir Rutherford Alcock (1865-1869) and his henchman, later successor, Mr (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wade, found the activity of the missionaries rather embarrassing to their diplomatic success at Peking; things were fairly quiet, however, until the question of treaty revision came forward in 1867, when the Chinese officials initiated a concerted system of "heading off" the enterprising proselytisers, and thus indirectly driving them back to the treaty-ports. In 1868 there were some persecutions in Formosa (then an integral part of Fuh Kien province), in connection with which Bluebook No. 3 of 1869 was issued; the "gunboat policy" of the Consul there was not approved, and he was given to understand by his superior at Peking that his "conscience" must subordinate itself to more mundane considerations of policy. The invidious expression "missionary disturbances" used by Sir R. Alcock was not to the taste of the societies whose members were being hustled about, and it was even hinted by them that the interests of the British camphor merchants in Formosa were given remarkable prominence in a State paper ostensibly devoted to the "missionary question." At Yang-chou Fu, opposite the treaty port of Chinkiang—a place whose religious history has so often been called to witness in this book—the literates incited the people to destroy the Protestant chapels of the Inland Mission; Consul (afterwards Sir Walter) Medhurst put the gunboat policy into vigorous and effective action here; but his superiors were by no means so pleased as the missionaries were at his success, which brought him no official glory.

It may be useful at this point[1] (1869) to give some idea of Protestant development in China. At Peking there were two British and (including T'ungchow) five American missions, with four and eight married pairs respectively; besides unmarried Americans of both sexes, making a total of eight British and twenty-three American missionaries. Those of the former category who have made their literary mark include Bishop Burdon, Dr Edkins,[2] and (medical) Dr Dudgeon; of the Americans, Bishop Schereschewsky and Dr Martin. The American *chargé d'affaires*, Dr Williams, was an ex-missionary, and a distinguished Chinese scholar to boot. At Tientsin there were two British missions, five married pairs and one bachelor; and one American mission, one pair and a bachelor; total, fourteen missionaries. Mr John Innocent and Mr Jonathan Lees are the best known names among the British section of them. At Chefoo there were three British and one American missions, each with a married pair, and an extra American bachelor. The Rev. Alexander Williamson, a gigantic imposing man and a distinguished inland traveller, leaves the literary honours of this batch with the National Bible Society of Scotland. At the Russian trading "port" of Kalgan (Great Wall), there was one American mission of four members; and at a second T'ungchow (north of Shanghai) were two American missions with five married pairs and two unmarried ladies. There were no more Protestant missionaries north of the Yangtsze River except Mr J. Hudson Taylor and Mr Reid, who had just been so roughly attacked at Yang-chou Fu. Shanghai had four American missions to one single British mission; twenty-two missionaries of both sexes, besides one American at Soochow. The Rev. W. Muirhead (British) and Rev. Matthew Yates (American), both dating from 1847, have left distinguished memories behind them, the former especially in connection with the 1877-1878 famine relief. He died in 1901. At Chinkiang there were only "Taylor" missionaries, this being the only treaty-port unsupplied with "regulars"; and it was here that the ladies' costumes first attracted the unfavourable notice and criticism of at least one of their own lay countrymen: there were in all thirty-one Inland Mission *employés*; but, so far, they had not got beyond the two provinces of Chêh Kiang and Kiang Su; after the Yang-chou Fu "row," word was passed round by Mr Taylor that his missionaries were not only to depend upon Providence for funds, but also for succour in the event of persecution; and that they were to give consuls as wide a berth as possible, except in cases of urgent necessity; and it must be admitted that, since then, the Taylor Mission has consistently acted with commendable independence and dignity in the matter of lying quietly in the often very uneasy beds its members have prepared for themselves. Many of the Inland missionaries have been men of means, who have, so to speak, sold all they had and given it to the poor (Chinaman); certainly none live in luxury, or even in comfort, beyond the requirements of decency; and there are not lacking members of the mission who have found time to do good literary work too. But to return to the ports: at Hankow, two British, and one American mission with eighteen missionaries of both sexes; the fine old veteran, Griffith John, is still there hard at work. Messrs Bryson, Scarborough, Bryant, and Hill have left their mark, and Dr F. Porter Smith achieved some sinological reputation. At Kewkiang there was one American married pair. Ningpo, including Hangchow, was particularly strong, with twenty-one American and nineteen British missionaries, in four and two missions respectively. Bishop Moule and his brother are very respected British names at Ningpo. On the American side the versatile Dr Lord, who also at one time acted as U.S. Consul, was sufficiently vigorous to outlast three wives. Unfortunately he and his fourth wife—about forty years his junior—were carried off together by cholera in 1887. *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, forgetful of the three first wives, and of a certain question raised in Holy Writ, concludes its obituary notice thus:

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[1] This was the year in which the writer of these humble remarks arrived in Peking, and consequently he had the honour at various times, then and afterwards, to meet most of the missionaries named. Few of them then bore the titles of honour here given to them.

[2] Dr Edkins, a distinguished orientalist, arrived in China in 1848, and died an octogenarian at Shanghai last April.

> "What a happy surprise to each it must have been, on entering their heavenly abode, to meet the other there!"

At least three others of the distinguished scholars above named had three wives, and this fact, so natural in a trying climate like that of China, has led to some ill-natured remarks about "missionary luxury" which are extremely unfair. Archdeacon Wolfe, after forty-three years' service, still represents the only British mission then (1869) in existence at Foochow; besides his wife, he had two other married pairs to assist him. There were seven American married couples and three spinsters in two missions; the Rev. S. L. Baldwin is responsible for an excellent local Chinese-English dictionary. At Amoy there were twelve British workers in two missions; eight American in one. Dr Douglas of the English Presbyterian Mission gave the world an excellent "Amoy Dictionary"; Dr. J. Macgowan, of the London Mission, and Rev. J. Sadler are well-known local names. The Formosa missionaries who "disturbed" Sir R. Alcock were Mr and Mrs Maxwell and Mr and Mrs Ritchie, also of the English Presbyterian. The same mission had six missionaries at Swatow; the American Baptists four more. Dr and Mrs Legge were absent from Hongkong in 1869, but there were three others of the London and two of the

Church Mission. The Basel Mission counted eleven members, including Mr and Mrs Lechler; Mr Lechler had joined Gutzlaff in 1847. There were also four ladies of the Berlin Ladies' Mission. At Canton eight British Wesleyans, and four of the London Mission; Dr Eitel (a German) particularly distinguished for profound sinological work. Dr Chalmers, equally profound, came from Hongkong in 1858, and seems to have been absent in 1869. Three American missions and an "independent" pair, thirteen in all. Dr Kerr, the much-loved medical missionary, was there; he died in 1901. Dr Happer, Mr Preston, Mr Noyes, and Mr Graves all left their mark locally as good men. The Rhenish Mission had seven members, of whom Dr E. Faber was subsequently by far the most distinguished. The Berlin Mission had six members. Total for all China, 301 missionaries, including lay and native workers.

Such was the state of affairs when, after the Tientsin Massacre in 1870, the Chinese Government, by way of staving off further responsibility for "popular indignation," concocted its celebrated circular of 1871, calling upon the Treaty Powers to reconsider their missionary attitude: at that time Germany scarcely yet counted as a Power, and practically the "Powers" meant Great Britain and the United States, so far as Protestants were concerned. Prince Kung suggested that, as regards children for orphanages (the immediate pretext for the massacre of the French nuns at Tientsin), charity might well begin at home; but that if missionaries were determined to trouble themselves about the souls of Chinese infants, these charitable establishments should be open to Chinese inspection and official supervision. Women should not be allowed to go about as missionaries, and the sexes should be carefully kept apart in chapels and schools, in accordance with Chinese ideas of propriety. Missionaries should be compelled to conform to the laws and customs of the place wherein they might be, and should not ridicule or cast aspersions upon Chinese religious or functional practices. Converts and ordinary Chinese should be in every way subject to the same laws, and missionaries should not be suffered to intermeddle in disputes between native Christians and the authorities or fellow-villagers. Passports should not be transferable, and should always name the precise places to which the missionary was going. Converts should be carefully enquired into before acceptance, and their names should be reported to the officials. Missionaries should not make use of seals after the fashion of Chinese mandarins, and in the presence of mandarins they should perform the customary acts of obeisance required from unofficial Chinese. They should not lay claim to property under alleged old titles, and such property as they might acquire should be registered in the name of a native; etc., etc. These rules were reasonable enough if it had been possible to accept the principle of Chinese good faith in the matter.

There was a great deal of nagging and mutual recrimination over their preparation between Sir Thomas Wade and the ministers of the Tsung-li Yamên, and it need hardly be said that the Protestant missionaries were up in arms at once so soon as the rules "leaked out." Mr Griffith John lost no time in vigorously pointing out that the demands struck at the very root of the Christian missions in China. The American minister, Mr Low, who was, of course, more or less under the influence of his ex-missionary secretary, Mr S. W. Williams, officially pointed out to Prince Kung that "the elevation of women was the glory of western countries," and desired that both he and his *Yamên* colleagues "would look into the Holy Scriptures, where may be found those principles and doctrines under whose influence foreign countries have become great and powerful." The Rev. John (afterwards Bishop) Burdon had already resigned his chaplaincy at the British Legation in disappointment at the general want of religious tone in that diplomatic and consular sanctum; in February 1872 he gave Sir Thomas (then Mr) Wade an eloquent piece of his mind in the *Recorder and Missionary Journal*. What with the diminution of French influence, however, and the firm determination of Sir Thomas Wade not to "fight for" Protestant missionaries more than he could help, a period of comparative religious calm followed, until that minister's retirement in 1882.

By 1877 the number of Protestant missionaries at 113 principal stations in China had reached 305, of which 109 were British, 90 American, and 17 German; but more than half the total (which includes 41 Inland Mission) were now in the interior of China; that is to say, not at the treaty ports. Including sub-stations, colporteurs, and independent preachers, there were 473 missionaries in all, of whom 172 were wives, 66 bachelors, and 63 spinsters. It had been a much resented but very favourite reproach in the mouths of persons not favourable to missionary zeal that Protestant missionaries lived comfortable and easy-going lives with their wives and families (for increase in which they often received, child by child, an extra pecuniary allowance) far away from risk of danger; but the Taylor Missions' example was now beginning to be imitated by other societies. In that same year, 1877, the disastrous Shan Si famine gave the more energetic of them an excellent opportunity to prove their mettle; Mr Muirhead was particularly active in raising subscriptions and superintending the distribution of relief; there can be little doubt that, cold and suspicious though the mandarin element continued to be in fact of much self-sacrifice on the part of Protestant missionaries, "Pharaoh's heart" underwent a considerable softening from this time. The French hostilities of 1883, and the use made of their native Christians in Tonquin and elsewhere by the government of the Republic, had some effect in concentrating upon the Roman

Catholics in China most of the odium which had formerly been shared in equal measure by Protestants. The spread, too, of missionary dispensaries and hospitals, almost invariably in the hands of Protestants, was a movement decidedly in their favour: the Protestant missionaries were also more active in translating into Chinese legal, scientific, and economic works of all kinds, and in founding educational establishments; the work of Rev. Timothy Richard is particularly noticeable in this intention. In fact, though the missionaries themselves cannot be expected to admit it, the influence of charity and progress would be as great, if not greater, were religion entirely excluded, so far as it is competitive and "militant." After the supposed "Awakening of China" heralded by the Marquess Tsêng from his post in London; the creation of a navy under the supreme direction of the Emperor's father; and the more or less successful anti-Japanese policy of Li Hung-chang in Corea, the Chinese began to grow more confident and aggressive: the riots at Wuhu in 1888, at Chinkiang and Nan-k'ang in 1889, at Yang-chou Fu, Wuhu, Nanking, Ich'ang, etc., in 1891, seemed to point to a second concerted attempt on the part of the mandarins to drive all missionaries out of China. The unfavourable impression left upon the European Powers by the mandarin supineness or connivance on the occasion of these and many other disturbances had undoubtedly a great deal to do with the indifference with which

China's political troubles were viewed when in 1894 the Japanese had her at their feet. Instead of celebrating her 60th birthday with triumphant rejoicings, the Empress-Dowager had to part with Formosa and millions by way of war indemnity.

In 1898 there were about 2500 Protestant missionaries (representing 54 societies) distributed over each of the 18 provinces; of these societies only about a dozen were represented in China at the date of the Peking Treaty of 1858. This total included 527 ordained, 519 lay, 675 wives, 724 spinsters—in fact the British and American women outnumber the men. There are in all nearly 1000 Americans, over 600 British, and 145 German-Scandinavian; but exclusive of the China Inland Mission (nearly 700 of both sexes), which only numbers thirty ordained members in all: not possessing any particular nationality or society organisation, it is usually viewed as "separate." Last year (1904) there were almost exactly 100 Protestant societies of various sorts represented in China alone, not counting Formosa, Corea, or Japan; but including asylums, hospitals, and charitable institutions; there are (not counting Hongkong) certainly more missionaries than there are traders and officials; and, this being so, it is not surprising to find that missionary influence compels the local press to be more sympathetic than it probably would otherwise be, were half its clients not missionaries.

Missionary society influence, both at home and in China, seems to have been from the beginning much more powerful over the American official body than over the British; but at the same time it is only within the last ten years that American consular influence has had much independent say in China, the interests of American missionaries in outlying places having been readily looked after *officieusement* by British consuls; the fixed policy of the United States had always previously been to raise as few hornets' nests as possible in the Far East. At a recent meeting of the Church Missionary Society in England, Bishop Cassels of Western China made the following remarks, as quoted in the *Times* of the 3rd of May 1905:—

> "A few years ago China was said to be dying, and the European Powers, like harpies, were already beginning to divide the spoil. Those pangs, however, had been not a sign of approaching death, but the birth-pangs of a new life. With a Literary Chancellor exhorting students to read Christian books and distinguish between Protestants and Roman Catholics; with the spread of a purely native movement against foot-binding;[1] with the rise of colleges and universities, mints and arsenals, post-offices and publishing establishments; and with a new attitude to Western ideas in general, there was abundant proof of an awakening which gave glorious opportunities for Christianity. Never before had men so crowded to hear the Gospel. In his own diocese, at places where a few years ago

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[1] Mrs Archibald Little, though a lay lady, deserves a special niche in the Valhalla as a "foot missionary," of charming and persuasive eloquence.

missionaries were howled at and robbed, and had their houses pulled down, the gentry and officials not only urged them to come, but lavished hospitality upon them, and provided mission-houses and preaching places. Unless China was leavened with Christianity, disastrous results would follow. Surely the Christian leaven should at least be planted in each county; yet, in 1000 counties [he means *hien*] there was not a single mission station. In Western China the mission had no hospital, no training college, no school buildings, and scarcely a church worthy the name. Worse than that, the Tibetan station had been closed for six years for lack of any man to take possession. The Chinese had been described as second to no other nation intellectually, physically, or commercially; and he believed the same would be found true of them spiritually. It was said that there were dangers, such as 'mixed motives' and 'impure ideas of the Christian Church'; and so there were; but the greatest danger was that we should fail to seize the opportunity that China now presented to us."

These are indeed words of encouragement; but, at the same time, it is regrettable to see what emphasis continues to be laid in ghostly circles upon the distinction between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Both sides are in China equally to blame in this respect; and the fact that two religions, derived from one and the same source, continue to wage an inveterate if smothered warfare one against the other abroad is a poor example of Christian charity to offer to a sceptical people, who, as we have seen, have had freely offered to them for inspection every Turanian, Aryan, and Semitic religion in turn. When to this religious quarrelsomeness is added the political greed of the Christian powers, small wonder if Japan, without any Christianity at all, succeeds in morally gaining the upper hand.

CHAPTER XI

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The "Ross" are converted from nature worship, and in 988 embrace the Greek faith.—Called "Oross" by the Tartars and Chinese.—The Mongols attack the Kipchaks and Russians in 1222.—Russia a Chinese province.—Batu on religious grounds executes Michael Chernigoff before Carpini's eyes.—Freedom to Russian religion under Tartar rule.—Greek Christians distinguished by the Chinese from Nestorians.—Clergy writs from China run into Kipchak dominions.—Extinction of Russia's suzerain Tartar power in 1502.—A Chinese blank between 1368 and 1640.—Settlement of captive Russians in Peking in 1685.—In 1715 the Manchu envoy to Russia brings a reinforcement of priests to China.—Russian and Jesuit counter moves at Peking.—Russian captives in a purely historical position.—Establishment in 1720 of an official Russian Church or Convent at Peking.—Russian rites confused with Tibetan.—Russian and Chinese schools established, and continued up to Treaty times in 1862.—Death of Hilarion in 1717; arrival of the Archimandrite Antonius in 1729.—Successors during the eighteenth century.—New cemetery of 1740; placed at British disposal in 1860.—List of learned Archimandrites during the nineteenth century.—No Russian "missionary disturbances" at Peking.—Reasons for the long period of peace and order.—Immaculate behaviour of Russian priests.—Strict subordination of Church to State.—Dread of Chinese power and immigration.—The ecclesiastical mission subsequent to 1858.—The effects of the "Boxer" troubles of 1900; destruction of the Library.—Retaliation of the Russians with the Mukden Library.—Success of the Orthodox Church in Japan.—General considerations about Japan's rights in religious matters.

THE "Ross" are stated to have menaced Constantinople about 1000 years ago; their religion up to that date was Nature Worship; they subsequently made a treaty with the Byzantine Emperor, and a certain number of them were converted; churches were erected at Kiev. It was a question with them then, as with the Mongols who subsequently conquered them, what cultured religion to adopt; finally in 988 Vladimir the Holy decided that his people should belong to the Greek Church, itself then only 130 years old. The Mongols have always called the people "Oross", which name has from first to last been also used in China; often shortened, in accordance with Chinese custom, to "O"; just as the other countries become "Ing," "Fa," "I," etc., instead of England, France, and Italy. The hordes of Genghis Khan first invaded the Kipchaks in 1222, and then pursued the Russians and Kipchaks together to the River Dnieper. Nothing much further was done then, for the conquest of North China necessitated the recall of the Mongol troops. In 1237 they reappeared, and captured the duchy of Vladimir; the duchy of Kiev followed in 1240. Genghis' grandson Batu, founder of the Golden Horde or Desht Kipchak dynasty, fixed his capital at Sarai on the Lower-Volga in 1242, and for 200 years after that Russia was indirectly as much a Chinese province under the Grand Khans as was Persia, or Tibet. We have seen that John de Plano Carpini found Greek priests with Kayuk Khan at Sira-Ordo near Karakoram in 1247; Carpini had himself witnessed the year before the execution, by Batu, of Michael Chernigoff for refusing to worship the Mongol gods. In 1249 "Saint" Alexander Nevsky, Duke of Vladimir, who had ten years previously married a Tartar princess, returned to Russia from his visit to Kayuk. The Tartars as over-lords respected the Russian religion, and, in fact, did not interfere with the administration of the country at all, so long as due contingents of troops were supplied, and taxes were promptly paid to the "Bussurman" farmers; this Russianised word is undoubtedly the *Musu-man* of Mongol history, for in 1297 the farming of taxes, even in China, was, as already stated, entrusted to the Mohammedans. In 1254 Rubruquis found a Russian deacon amongst the other Christians at Karakoram. The reason why the earlier Persian word *tersa* was gradually abandoned by the Mongols in favour of the Syro-Greek word *arkôn*, when speaking of Christians, manifestly is that no specifically Greek Church was ever heard of in China until the Russians had been conquered; besides, there were large bodies of Russian and Alan guards at Peking throughout the last half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century, and the Catholics there would not be likely to encourage the use of a Persian word which was most probably applicable in the first instance to the Nestorians they found so degenerated. A patent of the Mongol ruler, Batu's grand-nephew Usbeg Khan (1312-1342), exempted the clergy from taxation;

in 1314 the Grand Khan Ayulipalipatra had ordered the same thing to be done in China; and the writ of China had still at least a nominal run in Russia; for in 1329, 1332, and 1334 the Chinese (Mongol) histories tell us of Russian regiments, Russian prisoners sent as presents, a Russian camp of 10,000 men, and Russian guards at Peking. In 1395 Tamerlane defeated Russia's immediate suzerain Toktamish Khan; and then the rise of the rival Tartar Khanships of Kazan and the Crimea, with which Russia was friendly, gradually led to the total extinction of the Golden Horde in 1502.

The above evidence is fairly precise, if incomplete. It is clear that there were in the fourteenth century, and even before, many thousands of Russians, many Greek priests, and at least one Russian deacon in Mongolia and China; the inference that religious ministrations for the Russians were organised there is all the more legitimate in that the Sarai suzerains themselves dealt considerately with Christians in Russia, apart from orders received from China. From the disappearance of the Mongols from China in 1368 to the advent on the frontier of the Manchus in 1640, not a single word is said about Russia in any known Chinese document. In 1619 two Cossacks are reported by old Western writers to have been *sent* from Tobolsk to Peking; but nothing further seems to be stated or known about the matter. After the capture of Yaksa or Albazin on the Amur

River by the Manchus in 1685, a small minority of twenty-five Russians, all of whom were generously allowed to go free if they preferred it, accepted the Emperor's offer to settle in Peking, and the priest Vassily Leontyeff, carrying his ikons and images, went with them. He died there about the year 1700, and it was not until 1715 that Tulishên, the Manchu special ambassador to St Petersburg, laid before the Russian authorities in Siberia the Emperor's request that some more priests might be sent. At that time the Governor-general at Tobolsk had the say in all matters appertaining to the captives in China. Tulishên took back with him the Archimandrite Hilarion and nine other priests, students, and attendants, six being the limit to the number of priestly and literary persons set by the Chinese Emperor. Peter the Great originally wished to send an archbishop to Peking, but the Jesuits there, who were at that time getting into hot water (against their own judgment) in connection with the ancestral rites dispute, had already appealed to Peter, and also to Charles VI., the Emperor of Germany, for their good offices, so that Peter was induced to give way on that point, in order to obtain the good offices of the Jesuits at Peking. As it was, the Jesuits narrowly escaped being supplanted by Russians in their posts on the Astronomical Board; but they were in the end too sharp for the Russians, whose intrigues and soft promises they met successfully with still subtler moves. The Russian prisoners were at once assimilated to Bannermen, and given honourable duty as palace guards under a *niuru* of their own. The whole Manchu nation (it must be explained) is registered on a military basis under Eight Banners, to which are assimilated the Mongols and the "faithful" Chinese who assisted the Manchu conquests; these two are under Banners of their own; every Bannerman, no matter how high in rank, has a *niuru* or colonel, under whose paternal jurisdiction he falls.

It is interesting to note that all these arrangements were strictly in accordance with the precedents of the T'ang and Yüan (Mongol) dynasties, when Turks and Russians had been given rank as Captains of the Guard, and had been similiarly cherished either as hostages or captives, under the immediate eye of the Chinese Court. In 1720 the Russian envoy to Peking, Ismaïloff, was instructed to request amongst other things, permission to build a Russian church inside the city of Peking; this demand, being strictly in accordance with the Manichean, Nestorian, and perhaps Mussulman precedents of the seventh century, was readily granted. The makeshift Albazin church of St Nicholas was repaired, and a new one was promised for the use of the Embassy. The principal station of the Russian missionaries and of the envoys when they came was at the *Nan-Kwan*, or "Southern Hostelry," occupying part of a site still assigned for the lodgment of tributary missions[1] from Annam, Corea, Loochoo, Tibet, and other foreign states. It is in fact the present Russian Legation, which was reconstructed for the first time at the cost of the Chinese Government in 1820, and still contains the old Church of the Purification. When Hilarion reached Peking in 1716, the *Nan-Kwan* was turned into a cloister for his use. This was first styled the "Convent of Candlemas," and later the "Church"; it was built at China's expense in 1727-1734 on the model of the French church erected by Louis XIV. and K'ang-hi for the use of the Jesuits. The Russian popes were styled *lama*, which seems to show that their vestments and rites (which are really not unlike those of the Buddhists as seen at Lama Miao, or Dolonor) were confused with those of the Tantra services. Catherine, Peter's widow, sent Count Sawa Vladislavitch in 1727 to negotiate another treaty with China; the fifth article provided more distinctly than before that a church should be erected in the courtyard of the Oross Hostel under the superintendence of the mandarin charged with the management of their affairs; one *lama*, and three assistant *lamas* were authorised to dwell there permanently at the cost of China. The Russians were granted freedom to practice their worship and to perform their prayers with all the customary ceremonies. Four Russian youths and two adults (besides the four priests) were allowed to study Chinese there at the Emperor's charge; these latter stipulations are supposed to have had in view the ultimate supersession of the still indispensable Jesuits; but the Jesuits were much too clever. Another school was established in which Chinese students, cadets of the Imperial Council, might study Russian. Unless this school was destroyed during the "Boxer," troubles of 1900, a point upon which information is not forthcoming, the buildings are still there, marked with the Chinese words "Inner Council Russian College"; but for many years past, certainly since 1830, salaries have been drawn by the officials without any real duties having been done, it having been found in 1820 that the Chinese students, of whom there were then twenty, were totally incompetent to translate a single word of Russian. The supposed teachers of Russian in this Chinese school were first the "Albazins," or Russian captives, with their descendants, and afterwards the heads of the Russian Ecclesiastical Missions; and there was a Loochoo school hard by, organised upon the same basis. After the second war with Great Britain and the Treaty of Peking, the present T'ung-wên Kwan, or "College for Mixed Languages," was established in the metropolis, and teaching of Russian was transferred to this (1862.)

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[1] All these, however, except Tibet, have been annexed by France, Japan, or other foreign power; but when the writer was at Peking he met Mongolian, Corean, and Tibetan envoys there (1869-1870).

But to return to Hilarion; he died (1717) a year after his arrival in Peking, and was buried in the old Russian cemetery (close by the spot where the British troops breached the wall in October 1860); this cemetery had been placed by the Emperor K'ang-hi at the disposal of the Albazins in 1685. The original understanding was that the priests should be relieved every ten years, but owing to distance and various delays the reliefs were irregular; the first, with ten members as arranged under the Sawa treaty, was under the Archimandrite Antonius in 1729; the succeeding missions under a second Hilarion 1736, Gervasius, 1745, Ambrosius, 1794, Nicholas, 1771, Joachim, 1781, and Sophronius in 1794. As the vigorous Emperor K'ien-lung was reigning all this time, it may well be imagined, when even the Jesuits had to hide their diminished heads, that the above simple-minded Archimandrites had no great opportunity of making history, even if they had been at all disposed to intermeddle with politics. The only known event of importance was the legacy by a former Russian student in the year 1740, of a small estate he had purchased a mile to the west of the old cemetery; this was to serve as a church-yard and new cemetery, and one of the first interments in it was that of the Archimandrite Ambrosius. The British subjects murdered by the Chinese in 1859-1860 were kindly granted burial hospitality here.

The Archimandrite Sophronius is the only one of those in the preceding list who has left any literary work behind him—for instance, a diary of his life, and some sketches of Peking; but one of the students named Leontyeff (presumably a relative of the first Albazin priest) wrote a history of the Manchus and a translation of "Confucius." After this there was quite a succession of distinguished Archimandrites. Father Hyacinth (1809-1821) is still one of the first authorities on the Social Life of the Chinese, the Tribes of Central Asia, History of Tibet and Mongolia, etc., etc.; unfortunately, though one or two of his best books have been translated into French or German, none are available in English. Father Hyacinth took back with him to Russia several tons of Chinese books. His successor, the Archimandrite Peter, was a distinguished Manchu scholar. The relief mission of 1830 was only under the conduct of a monk who did not stay in Peking very long. The most illustrious of all the ecclesiastical missions was that of 1840, under the Archimandrite Polycarpus, who had with him as a priest the future Archimandrite Palladius and several other lay Russians, well known by their literary labours to specialists. Palladius himself became Archimandrite to the mission of 1850, and after service in Rome (1860-1864) during the chieftainship in China of the Archimandrite Gury, resumed his old post at Peking under the changed conditions of 1866. Palladius' chief works are the "Life of Buddha," "History of Buddhism," "History of Genghis Khan," "Journey of the Taoist Monk (already mentioned) to Genghis Khan," "Mohammedanism in

China," "Christianity in China," "Marco Polo in China," etc., etc.—unfortunately, nearly all these are inaccessible to persons unversed in Russian. Several other priests, such as Daniel and Zwetkoff, have written valuable religious works on Taoism, Nestorianism, and Buddhist Vows.

From first to last there has never been a Russian "missionary disturbance" during the 175 years of pre-Legation residence in Peking; such Russian "rows" as have taken place have all been owing to the drunken and riotous behaviour of the trading caravans, and even those were not suffered to take place after K'ien-lung came to the throne (1736). There has never been the least organised hostility to either the Albazins or the Russian missionaries; and it is worth while enquiring why this condition of affairs, so contrary to the experience of Roman Catholics and Protestants, has continued to exist. In the first place they were captives, or ministers to captives' spiritual wants fully authorised by treaty; consequently they were guests of the Emperor, living on the Emperor's bounty in full accord with historical precedent; so far from being a menace, they were an honour to China, and a military trophy of which she was entitled to be proud. Their intellectual acquirements, though sufficiently distinguished after the beginning of the nineteenth century, were not of a kind to excite extraordinary jealousy; and (however the conduct of twentieth century Russian diplomats may now belie the fact) in those days the official Russians displayed no startling genius for intrigue in China, even if the inclination had occasionally been there: in any case, down to the very last post-"Boxer" days, no word of reproach for intrigue has ever been breathed against a Russian priest, notwithstanding the slippery repute of the latter-day lay diplomats.

The Russian Church in no part of the world seems to have assumed the militant and aggressive attitude of Mohammedanism, and, in a different degree, of Christianity; in fact the strict subordination of Church to State ever since the days of Peter has rendered it impossible, or at least inconsistent with Russian policy, to entrust priests with any independent powers at all which might conceivably compromise the State. Even after the Peking Treaty of 1860, when Russia was placed on a political level with England and France, she never in the least attempted to proselytise, or, by means of religious doctrine, to bring the Chinese under her political wing. No converts were accepted but those who proved they understood the religion, and even then only a dozen or two each year. There were never more than a thousand in all, including the two dozen Albazin families, numbering about 120 souls. This moderation may not be all pure virtuous restraint; on the contrary, it may be said that, up to 1886 the Russians, despite their opportunities in Ili, had a very wholesome dread of Chinese military power and immigration; they had therefore no sound political reason for attaching so presumably formidable a power to themselves by religious bonds. Still, the Russians are entitled to claim credit for great prudence.

Up to the Treaty of 1858 the entire cost of the Russian permanent mission, so far as necessaries went, was defrayed by the Chinese Government; but after that date the Holy Synod took charge of the ecclesiastical, and the Russian Foreign Office of the political side. The politicals occupy the *Nan-Kwan*, in "Legation Street," close by the water-gate where the British rescuing troops were the first to enter in 1900. This block or enclosure was entirely rebuilt by the Russians themselves in 1864, nothing of the old buildings remaining except the original Embassy House in the inner court, and the old Church of the Purification. A mandarin who in the old days was set on duty to watch the Russians, and who had had a small Buddhist shrine attached to his quarters in the yard, was of course ejected, together with his "false gods," after the Treaty of 1860. The foreign Legation quarter has since the "Boxer" troubles become an *imperium in imperio*; but originally the idea was to treat Russians—and subsequently all foreigners—as tributary states under the protecting wing of the Palace walls hard by; for the Corean, Loochooan, and Mongol hotels are all close to the *Nan-Kwan*. The Russian ecclesiastical mission occupies the *Pêh-*

Kwan ("North Hostel") four miles away from the Legation in the extreme north-east corner of the city wall, on the other side of which are the old and new Russian cemeteries. According to a detailed report received by the Synod from the Archimandrite Innocentius, and dated 27th August 1900, the buildings of the *Pêh-Kwan* were blown up by the "Boxers" with dynamite in the month of June in that year, and the greater part of the Albazins were then killed; the valuable library accumulated during the past 200 years was entirely destroyed by fire. When the Russians a few months later took Mukden, they revenged themselves for this loss by carrying off the rich imperial library discovered there, including many books and manuscripts which had been carried away by the Mongols from Russia and Hungary in the thirteenth century; many of these priceless treasures still await investigation at the hands of a competent sinologist. The *Pêh-Kwan* was originally a Buddhist temple, and was assigned to the captives from Albazin in 1685; they brought with them the image of St Nicholas. The Church of the Assumption or of St Nicholas was consecrated in 1692; but the whole place was repaired in 1724, and again, together with the church, rebuilt in 1827. New pictures of the saints were sent from Russia to replace the caricatures of Chinese workmanship, and the name St Nicholas was permanently abandoned in favour of "The Assumption." After the reconstruction of the

Nan-Kwan was completed in 1865, the missionaries' quarters at the *Pêh-Kwan* were newly built too, and schools were added in 1870.

At a village near the well-known town called Ma-t'ou, or "The Wharf," the first day's stage on the way to Tientsin, there is a small Orthodox community of about one hundred Christians, dating from the year 1863; with this exception there are no Russian Christians amongst the Chinese except at Peking. Although the Russians, whether from policy or inclination, have not thought fit—at all events until their unfortunate Manchurian aggressions—to proselytise in China, curiously enough in Japan their missions have obtained considerable development. This subject hardly appertains to the religions of China; still, as the next chapter will treat of Japanese Shintōism, it may not be amiss to say a few words about Bishop Nicolai's success, which to a certain extent bears upon the political side of Shintōism. At the suggestion of the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, an Archimandrite and three priests, on the China scale, were sent out to Tōkyō in 1871; at present there seem to be only two Russian priests, but there are at least nine ordained Japanese (or, according to one account, sixteen), with over a hundred native preachers or catechists; three schools, and 150 places of worship; for a total of about 15,000 Christians. At first Russia herself supplied the funds for this mission; but now it appears the Japanese Government is willing to do so itself, no doubt in order to anticipate any political meddling. A magnificent cathedral or Russian Church is now in process of being built, if indeed it is not already finished, on an elevated site in the heart of the Japanese capital. Some fifteen years ago the Marquis (then Count) Itō, who doubtless has had a hand in all these matters, even went so far as to recommend that the Japanese nation should, for political purposes, become officially Christian; and, indeed, there is really no reason, in the logic of things, why the Mikado should not at once constitute himself "Defender of the Faith," like King Edward, or create a "Sviateishyi Synod," as Peter did in 1721, with himself at the head of it, appointing in future his own Protestant and Orthodox bishops from any nationality he may choose. When the Christian religion was proclaimed in Judæa for the benefit of mankind in general, no more was there known of England and Russia than of Japan;—rather less; and though the Pope of Rome may have historical claims to supreme headship, the Mikado's claims are certainly as good as those of any other ruler; nor, if any of his subjects see fit to embrace Islam, is there any reason why he should not, equally with a Turk hailing originally from China, be Supreme Caliph in his own dominions. His right to control local Buddhism is certainly greater than that of the Tibetan *lamas* who have only adopted the coarsest form of Tantric worship, and (including Mongolia) do not rule

CHAPTER XII

SHINTŌISM

Shin-tō or "spiritual way," is an expression derived from the Chinese "Book of Changes."—The Japanese derived the expression of their notions, if not the religious notions themselves, from ready-made Chinese thought.—Even Chinese history allows to the ancient Japanese some crude spiritual ideas of political bearing.—First enquiries by competent Europeans into the nature and objects of revived Shintō.—Evidently a mere political engine.—No moral code; a mere engine of mental slavery.—The ancient Japanese history on which it is chiefly based is itself worthless.—Mr Satow's "Revival of Pure Shin-tau."—The word *Shin-tō* only introduced in the sixth century as the name of a supposed cult.—Gradually extinguished by Buddhism.—Revival of religion after three or four centuries of civil war.—The Japanese revivalist, Motowori.—He denies his own alleged inspiration by Lao-tsz.—Other Japanese attack both him and the genuineness of Japanese ancient history.—Japan is the hub of the universe, and Shintō is its prophet.—As a political engine, important; as a philosophy, a mere copy.—Weak origin of Japanese history.—"Book of Changes" the true origin.—Parallel lines of religious movement in China and Japan.—Etymological and historical evidence.—Japanese statesmen have only done what Europeans have done.—Conflicting appreciations of Russian, German, and other European Christians cited to explain the Japanese attitude.—"Ian Maclaren" on revivals.—Japanese *bushi-dō*.—Lessons to be learnt from Japan.

No such religion is or ever has been known to the Chinese by that name, unless it be that within the past ten years the Japanese have been endeavouring to counteract European missionary influence in China by introducing their own Buddhist and

Shintō priests for educational purposes into the country districts; to this extent it may be said that the Chinese newspapers have heard of and occasionally mention it. Yet the word Shin-tō (or *Shin-tau*, as even the Japanese *kana* syllables write it in theory), is a purely Chinese combination, pronounced in the mandarin dialects *shên-tao*, and in Cantonese *shên-tou*, meaning "spiritual road." The combination does not occur at all in the Taoist Canon. There are precedents for Lao-tan's (or Lao-tsz') *tao*, Confucius' *tao*, Buddha's *tao*, heretical *tao*, and foreign *tao;* all of which are older than any authenticated Japanese history, and mean "way taught" or "teachings." In the "Book of Changes" we have Heaven's *tao*, Earth's *tao*, Man's *tao*, corresponding to the three principles mentioned in the first chapter, and meaning the "ways of" or the "law of," or "what may be expected of" each of the three. The "Book of Changes" says: "When we look at the spiritual road of Heaven, we find that the four seasons never fail us; the holy man bases his teaching on this spiritual way, and all below the heavens submit to him." These words contain, in compendious form, all the essentials of the comparatively simple ancient Chinese religion, as described before the second layer of *tao*, superimposed by Lao-tsz, gave to it further complications. As there is no tittle of evidence—even in the ancient Japanese literature (which is of very dubious value)—to show that the early Japanese had ever constructed on their own account any abstract thought of such combined simplicity and profundity, there can be little doubt, seeing that they can be proved to have obtained everything they have in the way of early culture from China, that they obtained the literary expression of this noble idea from China too, even admitting (as we may well do) that they had the nucleus of the unexpressed idea in their own minds. And, apart from the fact that the above 3000 years old Chinese definition of *Shên-tao* corresponds with the modern Japanese definition of *Shintō*, there is no reason why the ancient Japanese should not have had what we have proved the Huns and Turks to have had partly in common with the Chinese; to wit, a sort of respectful nature and ancestor worship, based on the not unreasonable conjecture that every man, as part of Nature, is a link in the endless chain of life, and should conform to Nature's ways. And to this day, with all our Western civilisation, culture, and dogma, we have not got very far beyond this obvious stage; nor, so far as our concrete national acts are concerned, can we deny that the Japanese, by the light of their own spiritual conceptions, have displayed patriotic, kindly, and moral qualities in a degree to which we can scarcely lay claim with honesty ourselves. So that, whatever in the way of historical criticism may follow in this enquiry, Japanese honour is declared safe from the faintest suspicion or tarnish.

Shên-tao is also differently used in the material sense of the "spirit passage" in a tomb; *shên* loosely meaning "good spirit" or soul (*manes*), and *kwei* "evil spirit" or ghost (*larvae*): the combination *kwei-tao* is used of altar passages by which spirits can approach or escape. But *kwei-tao* may also have a spiritual meaning corresponding by antithesis with the *shên-tao* of the "Book of Changes." Thus—a cruel *argumentum ad hominem*—standard Chinese history tells us that "about the year A.D. 180 or 190, the Japanese tribes were at civil war, and for quite a number of generations had no supreme *dominus*; but there was an elderly unmarried woman named *pi-mi-hu*, much given to supernatural things, who was able to hoodwink the people by the use of *kwei-tao* (hocus-pocus, or "devil methods"), so that at last the inhabitants joined in proclaiming her their princely ruler. The modern Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese phonetic syllables *pi-mi-hu* is *hi-mi-ko*, and the modern Japanese dictionary words for "princess," "priestess," and "imperial princess," are *hime*, *miko*, and *hime-miko*. Moreover, the widow of the fourteenth traditional Mikado (201-269), whose name as a princess was Okinaga Tarashi *Hime*, assumed the regency after his death. If we make allowance for the fact, admitted by the Japanese, that their "history" was only retrospectively recorded in A.D. 712, and that even at that date it was only taken down from the memory of one single person, we may well accept this date as proximate. Having, moreover, first-class Chinese official confirmation of a specific fact in that female ruler's career, we arrive at the position that "spiritual ways" of some sort, even if the ways of debased spirits, began to be distinctly conceived in the more enterprising rulers' minds about three centuries before the use of writing (*i.e.* Chinese writing) began to be understood.

What is now suggested is this: Shintō is a purely Chinese notion, not only as a specific word (having a specific meaning in the Chinese classics, which meaning corresponds both with the most ancient Chinese and with the most modern Japanese ideas), but also as a general philosophic term, which is so used at all stages of its discussion by the Japanese as to prove that such definite philosophical ideas as the Japanese have ever had are all founded on the "Book of Changes," the "Book of Rites," and the pure Taoist philosophy.

The earliest mention of Shintō by European enquirers seems to be in a letter to the *Chinese Recorder*, dated Christmas 1868, from the Rev. J. Goble. He alludes to the revolution of that year, to the revival of the Mikado's power which had lain dormant for so many centuries; to the rising Japanese enthusiasm for everything purely native in literature and religion; and to the suspicion that the movement was being engineered, with political objects, by the leading men of Japan. He had himself observed, during a solemn progress of the Mikado through his provinces, that all Buddhist temples and images were kept out of his sight, whilst great efforts were at the same time made to show up the Shintō shrines in their best light. In February 1874 Mr Satow (now Sir Ernest Satow) described to the Japan Asiatic Society the "Mecca of Japan," *i.e.* the Shintō temples of Isé; he showed how the absence of images was a distinctive feature of such temples, and how even every Japanese house kept up a *kami-dana*, or "spirit shelf," for private use. In the discussion which followed, Dr Hepburn (author of the leading Japanese-English dictionary) agreed that Shintō contained no moral code, and that the chief apostle of its revival said so expressly, asserting that "morals had been invented by the Chinese because they were an immoral people; that it was only immoral people who discussed the wisdom or rectitude of their ruler's acts; and that their simple guide or duty was obedience to the Mikado." In other words Shintō was, he said, an engine of mental slavery. M. von Brandt, afterwards German Minister in China, considered there was good evidence that Shintō resembled the ancient Chinese religion; for instance, the same sacrifices were in vogue. Sir Harry Parkes, British Minister in Japan, who was then considered to be a sound Chinese scholar, said he had never succeeded in satisfying himself what Japanese Shintō was, but that his own ignorance became intelligible to him if it was turning out that a supposed indigenous faith was now being welded into a political engine; under these circumstances it might be expected to become what the rulers choose to make it, the infallibility doctrine being particularly convenient. Sir Harry went on to discuss what he styled the myth of Jimmu (the supposed first Mikado), which was being exploited politically even to the extent of firing salutes on his imaginary birthday. He disagreed with the view taken by Mr Laurence Oliphant that Shintō had once taken real root as the religion of the people. If so, why should it have yielded so completely to Buddhism? Dr Brown explained that the *Kojiki* (Chinese words *ku-shï-ki*, or Ancient Affairs Record) was the only ancient work that treated of old religious customs *in extenso*; he had consulted it, and doubted if it were at all worth the trouble he had had in reading it; it was confessedly derived from the memory of one female retainer in A.D. 712, and he could discern in the supposed ancient religion no morals, no gods, no ritual, and no ethics. A Japanese gentleman named Mr Mori admitted that the records were fallible, but justified the State in turning Shintōism to what practical account it could; reverence for the dead was its leading feature.

Later on in the same year, Mr Satow read his well-known paper on the "Revival of Pure Shin-tau." By pure Shin-tau is meant the native belief previous to the introduction of Confucianism (fifth or early sixth century), and Buddhism (sixth century), the object of the revivalists being to eliminate these two influences; they repudiate the very word *shintō* because it had never been used before, and was only adopted then in order to distinguish the old belief from the two Chinese interlopers. It took centuries for Buddhism to get a hold on the people; in the ninth century a mixture called "Two Sorts Shintō" was compounded out of the pure native article, Buddhism, and Confucianism: Buddhism gradually acquired ascendancy; and though for two centuries the Mikado's court kept alive pure Shintō, the foreign faith practically became the national religion, until the Chinese philosopher Chu Hi, after studying and rejecting both Buddhism and Taoism, critically revived Confucianism in China: on this the intellects of educated Japan followed suit (A.D. 1200), as they did in most other Chinese ways. After 300 years or more of civil wars it was that men began to search for "the ancient principles of the divine age." The Shintō liturgies, or *norito*, were critically studied—and it may be added none of the revivalists carry these farther back in date than the seventh century. It is only necessary here to name the chief apostle of revived Shintō, Motowori (1730-1796), though as a matter of fact he had both predecessors and successors almost as notorious as himself in that enterprise. He explains that when Chinese learning first came, it was necessary to devise a special name *kami-no-michi* (gods, their road) for the lost ancient Japanese customs; that the Chinese, having no traditions of the divine age, had invented the theory of Heaven's Decrees; that this divine "way" of Japan was established by the Male and Female founders, or Creative Deities of Japan; that man has a natural knowledge of right and wrong; that the Chinese "benevolence," "justice," "ceremoniousness," and what not, were the inventions of "Holy Men," to serve as instruments to rule a vicious population; that ancient Japan was spontaneously well-governed; that *shintō*, or *kami-no-michi*, is not the same as the apparently similar Taoism of Lao-tsz, though that philosopher certainly hated the vain conceits of contemporary scholars; but being unfortunately for himself born in an unclean country, he did not know that the gods are the authors of every human action, etc., etc. In reply to a Japanese Confucian scholar who resented this attack, insinuated that the Mikados were chargeable with having invented the stories about the earlier ages, and charged Motowori with having borrowed wholesale from Lao-tsz, the latter attempted to prove that the imperial sepulchres from Jimmu downwards still existed in Japan, with many other relics of the divine age preserved at court; and that some old Japanese families had even transmitted to their modern descendants their Shintō liturgical functions. He disclaims, however, any intention to make Shintō a rule of life; his object is only to prove what it really was, and to disprove the allegation that the Japanese were an uninstructed people until the

Chinese came to civilise them. The central truth is that the Mikado is the direct descendant of the gods, and in consequence that Japan ranks first amongst countries. Motowori's pupil, Hirata, went further; he claimed that the Japanese possessed a written system of their own in the "divine age," and aimed at establishing a real religion on the Shintō basis; every Japanese was thus a descendant of the gods, and, as such, superior to the denizens of other countries, all of which should sooner or later fall under Japanese rule.

As a political engine, it is manifest that these modern conceptions of Shintō may, in the prophetic words of Sir Harry Parkes, make of that cult whatever the rulers like; and it is equally manifest that, if ingeniously manipulated so as to admit Chinese imperial pride within its orbit, the political engine might vie in importance with Orthodoxy, Pan-Germanism, or any other Western statecraft; but as a mere philosophy, no reasonable being acquainted at first hand with even the rudiments of Chinese religious history can refuse to see in it the hand of *tao*, which, as we have seen, has been extensively drawn upon by both Nestorianism and Judaism, in at least an illustrative sense. Touching the historical pretensions of the Japanese revivalists, as Mr Satow truly observed in 1874, and again in 1882, "such of their conclusions as are founded on the alleged infallibility of the ancient records, or on any premises which involve the supernatural, must be discredited; the real nature and origin of Shin-tau must be decided by the usual canons of historical criticism." The supposed writing of the divine age has been discovered to be identical with the vulgar Corean alphabet of the fifteenth century, which again was inspired by the Sanskrit letters. Part of the ancient cosmogony can be traced almost word for word to the Chinese. As to the *Kojiki*, the storehouse of ancient customs, its own preface is the only authority for the accepted account of its origin, and it was taken down from the memory of a retainer; and that memory was only stored with facts which a deceased Mikado had related to him or her—for the very sex is doubtful. The *Kojiki* is entirely written with Chinese characters, used phonetically to represent Japanese sounds; if a native alphabet had existed, why was it not used, instead of this cumbrous foreign system? The *Ni-hon-gi* (Chinese *Ji-pên-ki* or Japan Annals), in tolerably good Chinese, is only dated eight years later than the less intelligible *Kojiki*, which it soon practically superseded; this is the second storehouse of fact, or alleged fact, connected with the ancient life of Japan. Such, in brief, is the criticism of Mr Satow.

Though the Japanese revivalists admit that they introduced the word *shintō* in the sixth century, they do not seem to acknowledge one iota more of indebtedness than they are obliged to do; as we have seen, the "Book of Changes" (just about then introduced into Japan) is the authority for both the word and its definition. Taoism and Confucianism in China were both nourished on the "Book of Changes," and Taoism (including natural religion) was vulgarised and replaced by Buddhism in China just as any natural ideas the Japanese may themselves have had (or, what is more likely, imported popular Chinese ideas) were vulgarised and replaced by the same Buddhism. Pure Taoism has never ceased to affect the cultured Chinese mind, just as pure Shintō-Taoism has never ceased, or did not for long cease, to affect the cultured Japanese court. Motowori, and Japanese scholars generally, are not certain what *norito* means, but the Chinese characters used by the Japanese to represent the purely Japanese word *norito* are *chuh-ts'z*, meaning "invoking language"; the dissyllable goes back in China exactly as far as in Japan, *i.e.* to the T'ang dynasty of China (say, 700-900); at the same date the Chinese apply the word *chuh* to the ritual of the Manicheans or other foreign priests, and to the invocations of themselves. The Japanese write the second half of the word *kami-dana* (or "spirit shelf") with a Chinese character which never means "shelf"; but it is plain that the Chinese word *t'an* "an altar" is really meant, and what ought to be written, as in the precisely corresponding combination *shên-t'an*, "spirit altar"; this would seem to be proved by the fact that the Japanese themselves have a word *butsudan* (for the Chinese *Vut-dan* or *Fuh-t'an*) meaning "Buddha altar." The specimens of *norito* given by Mr Satow correspond with the prayers of the Emperors of China to Heaven, or to the notification to Heaven of important dynastic events, both which have gone on from 4000 or 5000 years ago up to this day. Thus, when Nanking was taken from the T'ai-p'ings, in 1864, both Heaven and his ancestors were duly notified, by the Emperor himself, of that important fact; in the same way the justly vaunted Japanese reverence for ancestors is nothing more nor less than the regular and periodical ancestral sacrifice of ancient China. The ascribing of victory by the Japanese this very year "to the virtues of your Majesty" is a stock Chinese custom and a stock Chinese phrase; the Emperor, as Vicegerent of Heaven, in due course passes on the acknowledgement to Heaven. When Yakub Beg's empire was annihilated in 1877, General Tso Tsung-t'ang said exactly the same thing to the reigning Dowager and her son, whose virtues are by no means so conspicuous as those of his Majesty Mutsuhito—at least in European eyes.

The following arguments of the revivalists of pure Shintō, as cited by Mr Satow, will be found, sometimes almost word for word, either in the exhortations of the ancient classics of China or in the Taoist classic:—

"So long as the sovereign maintains a simple style of living, the people are contented with their own hard lot; their wants are few, and they are easily ruled. But if the sovereign has a magnificent palace, gorgeous clothing [etc.], the sight of these things must cause in others a desire to possess themselves of the same luxuries. . . In ancient times, when men's dispositions were straightforward, a complicated system of morals was unnecessary. . . . it was unnecessary to have a doctrine of right and wrong. . . It is said on the other side that, as the Japanese had no names for benevolence, righteousness, propriety [etc.], they must have been without those principles; but . . . they exist in every country; in the same way as the four seasons . . . the weather does not become mild all at once . . . nature proceeds by gradual steps. According to the Chinese [*i.e.* Confucian] view, it is not spring or summer unless it becomes mild or hot all of a sudden."

Jimmu is represented by the *Nihongi* to have said:—

"It is the part of a good general not to be haughty after conquering in battle."

Motowori argues:—

"The Chinese Holy Men also invented the "Book of Changes," by which they pretended to discover the workings of the universe. . . The Chinese nation has since given itself up to philosophising, to which are to be attributed its constant internal dissensions. When things go right of themselves, it is best to leave them alone. . . It is because the Japanese were truly moral in their practice that they required no theory of morals. . . The country was spontaneously well-governed. . . To have acquired the knowledge that there is no *michi* (*tao*) to be learnt and practised is really to have learnt to practise the way of the gods. . . All the moral ideas which man requires are implanted in his bosom by the gods, and are of the same nature as the instincts which impel him to eat when he is hungry and to drink when he is thirsty. . . The foundations upon which the Ancient Learning is based are the writings in which the Imperial Court [*i.e.* of Japan] has recorded the facts of antiquity. . . It is not wonderful that [Japanese] students of Chinese literature should despise their own country for being without a system of [Confucian] morals; but it is ridiculous that Japanese who were acquainted with their own ancient literature should have pretended, simply out of a feeling of envy, that Japan also had such a system. . . Precept is far inferior to example, for it only arises in the absence of example. . . As Lao-tsz says: 'When the Great Way decayed, Humanity and Righteousness arose.' . . Before the origin of things there was infinite space; . . . a thing whose shape cannot be described in words came into existence in the midst of space; . . . this thing floated in space . . . without any support . . . From it came forth something sprouting like a horn . . . it widened out infinitely. . . This is what in the Divine Age was called Heaven. . . In the same way there grew downwards a something. . . These are the progenitors of all the other gods. . . It is not necessary to quote the opinions of foreigners in order to prove that the heavens are immovable and that the earth revolves, for these facts are clear enough from ancient traditions; but as the Westerners have elaborated astronomy and physical geography to a very high degree of minuteness, their account of the matter is more easily comprehended. . . The principles which animate the universe are beyond the power of analysis: . . . although accurate discoveries made by men of the Far West . . . infinitely surpass the theories of the Chinese, still that is only a matter of calculation, and there are many other things known to exist which cannot be solved by that means. . . The celebration of rites in honour of the gods was considered in ancient times to be the chief function of the Mikados. . . Everything in the world depends on the spirit of the gods of Heaven and Earth, and therefore the worship of the gods is of primary importance. The gods who do harm are to be appeased, so that they may not punish those who have offended them, and all the gods are to be worshipped, so that they may be induced to increase their favours. . . Although in later ages many foreign customs were adopted, we find that the religious rites of Shintō always occupied the first place in . . . the rules and ceremonies of the court."

Thus it is plain, not only that the Japanese have drawn upon the "Book of Changes" and Lao-tsz for their Shintō, but also that their revivalists admit a critical knowledge of both those works, charge each other with imitation, and reproach each other with a vain desire to invent a past history and system of morals; it requires no European to formulate charges and incur the reproach of jealousy. There is, however, nothing heinous in all this, so long as deliberate attempts to distort the truth are not made and cherished in the inner *arcana* of the governing minds. Statesmen who consider it a political duty, rightly owing to the national security, may think fit to "keep hidden the machine of state and lull the people" in the way we see stern Lao-tsz himself recommends.

Who are we Westerns to censure Japan? What use have the great powers of Europe made of political religion? What attitude towards applied science has the Church (from which, or from the source of which, Nestorianism, Orthodoxy, and Protestantism in its protean forms are derived) itself adopted in the past?

We in the West are accustomed to plume ourselves upon our superior moral qualities, and we like, when we are agreed upon their existence (which is not always the case), to place them to the credit of our religion. It is scarcely fair to blame the Japanese if they do the same; and the extraordinarily noble qualities they are now exhibiting to an astonished world may well give us pause, and cause us to ask ourselves whether it is not possible that we ourselves may be on the wrong mental tack. The human mind in 999 cases out of a thousand seems incapable of shaking itself free of the mental associations which assisted to create and develop it, just as it took a considerable time for railway coaches and motor-cars in turn to shake off the "incurable shape" of a horse-carriage. The Japanese in translating Western books are beginning, to the dismay of our missionaries, to leave out all the Christianity that is in them. But never mind the Japanese; take the following summary of the views of Pastor Fischer as explained to the Protestant Union of Germany and published in the London press:—

"The religious consciousness of former generations was based on divine revelation. It laid emphasis on miracles and signs. Divinely given interpretation was held to be the real and indispensable object of a genuine faith, so that often enough the revealed Book became itself almost a God. This whole conception of revelation has now disappeared from religious thought; it was a product of religious reasoning under the form of an antique philosophy. No longer do heaven and earth stand opposite each other as two worlds. We do not now believe in a lower world of hell. There can no longer be any claim to a revelation in the old sense of the word, and the idea is not in harmony with the certain results of modern scientific research. It is beyond doubt that the investigations of science and of history, and the unprejudiced researches into the character of original Christianity, which have been going on for about seventy years without regard to dogmas and doctrines, have made religion something entirely different from what it had traditionally been supposed to be. It has been found, too, that Christ is a historical person, and that his activity and work can be plainly understood in the light of his day and surroundings. The historical Christ, without any signs and wonders, and without the later Christology, is what the religious consciousness of to-day must deal with. The deification of Christ has not stood the test of real historical investigation. Such great problems as those of creation, providence, prayer and its hearing, and the personality of God wear an entirely new aspect in the light of modern science. The new truths must be recognised in our pulpits, and become a part of the religious instruction in the schools."

Or take on the other hand the views of the

Procurator of the Holy Synod in his *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*:—

> "No considerations for the safety of the State, for its prosperity and advantage, no moral principle even, is itself sufficient to strengthen the bonds between the people and its rulers; for the moral principle is never steadfast, and it loses its fundamental base when it is bereft of the sanction of religion. This force of cohesion will, without doubt be lost to that State which, in the name of impartial relationship to every religious belief, cuts itself loose from all. The Protestant Church and the Protestant faith are cold and inhospitable to Russians. For us to recognise this faith would be as bitter as death. To the present day Protestants and Catholics contend over the dogmatic significance of works in relation to faith. But in spite of the total contradiction of their theological doctrines, both set works at the head of their religion. In the Latin Church works are the justification, the redemption, and the witness of grace. The Lutherans regard works and, at the same time, religion itself, from the practical point of view. . . . The Russians find the essence, the end of their faith, not in the practical life, but in the salvation of their souls. As to the Church of England, for the most part the preachers are the journeymen of the Church, with extraordinary whining voices, infinite affectation, and vigorous gestures, who turn from side to side, repeating in varying tones conventional phrases, etc., etc."

Of the historian Froude he says that, unshakable and fanatical, he holds to the principles of Anglican orthodoxy, the base of which he declares to be the recognition of social duty, devotion to the political idea and to the law, to the implacable chastisement of vice and crime and idleness, and all that is designated by the betrayal of duty. He approves the absence of sermons in his own churches, for the whole service of the Orthodox Church is the best of sermons. Even education is a vain form, where its roots have taken no hold among the people, where it fails to meet the people's necessities, and to accord with the economy of its life. The example of foreign countries has taught Russia that schools may do as much harm as good if they serve to break up family life, and if the scholars are taught unsuitable subjects, as when, for instance, country children are taught in a way which fits them only for a town life. Experience proves that the most contemptible persons—retired money-lenders, Jewish factors, news-vendors, and bankrupt gamblers—may found newpapers, secure the services of talented writers, and place their editions on the market as organs of public opinion. The healthy taste of the public is not to be relied on. Democracy is the most complicated and the most burdensome system of government recorded in the history of humanity. For this reason it has never appeared save as a transitory manifestation, with few exceptions, giving place before long to other systems.

Thus M. Pobyedonóschtschoff. The Japanese and the Chinese do not require to be told what Protestants in their two countries think of Catholics, and what Catholics think of Protestants. In the face of so much expressed doubt, we can scarcely wonder — however complacently certain we may any of us be in our own minds that we are right—that the Japanese have been so puzzled that they have deliberately elected to go back to the beginning of things. They—the best-read of them—are well acquainted with the Chinese experiences, as imperfectly summarised in the above twelve chapters; and they have, in their present struggle for freedom, an object lesson before their immediate eyes.

In connection with the recent Wesleyan Foreign Mission anniversary at Birmingham, the Rev. John Watson, D.D. ("Ian Maclaren") preached on "Revivals in the Church" before a crowded congregation. Being one of the most deservedly popular, and at the same time intellectual of our nonconformist divines, his remarks are peculiarly applicable to the revival movement in Japan. They are thus summarised by a northern newspaper:—

"He said revivals had been characteristic of religion from the time of Moses to that of John the Baptist, and the same phenomena were present in the work of Wesley and Moody. Nature was excited and unrestrained in the spring-time, literature had its periods of renascence, and there were even revivals in trade. Why should not the same principle apply to religion? It was not to be expected that all the seed sown should bear good fruit. Many of the blossoms that appeared in the spring were blown away. Many of Christ's followers deserted Him; but His mission was not in vain, and there remained for every great movement a large number of men and women who, through the action of God's Spirit, came home to God, and afterwards lived godly lives. People who complained of the emotionalism and excitement of a religious revival should remember the emotionalism of a Mafeking night and the excitement of a crisis on 'change. A corner in wheat was a serious business to those who were concerned in it; and a religious revival was a serious business for those who were concerned about their souls' eternal welfare. In judging the Welsh revival, Englishmen should remember that what was mere emotionalism in the eyes of a prosaic person was the highest form of common-sense to a Celt. He had found it necessary to plead with his Celtic friends that they should not judge the staid and undemonstrative Englishman by their standard of spiritual imagination and religious elevation, and he now asked his hearers to make allowance for the fact that the Celtic nature was emotional and susceptible. Their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams. Englishmen were not in a position to judge as to what was seen by Welshmen; they were not standing on the same religious elevation. It was good to see a man deeply moved, and it was better to see him moved by religion than by drink, avarice, political passion, or sectarian bigotry. Some of the language used by the Welsh revivalists was not the language of the study or the drawing-room, but he did not know that religion profoundly affected the people in the studies, and he wished that religion would sometimes sweep through the drawing-rooms. Was it a deplorable thing that a man who had been used to uttering the name of the Almighty in profanity should for the first time in his life call upon God in penitence? The success of a revival depended on the man rather than the methods. A revival was to be judged by its results. The moral effects of the Welsh revival were universally recognised, and he believed that the revival would result in a great extension of missionary effort."

The *bushi-dô*, or "military honour," which is more or less involved in the new spirit of revival in Japan, seems to be in no way historically connected with the partly mythical and partly Chinese *shên-tao*, or its Japanese imitation *kami-no-michi*. It is certainly not a national Chinese feature, though possibly the germs of it may be discerned so far as mere theory goes in the wars which ushered in the Han dynasty (B.C. 212-200), or in the wars of the Three Empires (A.D. 168-265), which last are responsible for the production of the chief, if not the only, really chivalrous romance in the Chinese language; but, even so, that romance was not written before the thirteenth century under the Mongol dynasty, and the mere inculcation of a chivalrous spirit never seems to have resulted in the wholesale practice of it in China. There is not a single instance in Chinese history of a sustained, noble, generous, and brave patriotic movement; all emotional zeal is family or parochial; there is no fraternity. The chivalrous spirit that animates the Japanese in such a marked degree is in the first place probably inborn in the race, which has always known how to preserve its freedom from foreign denomination; but more directly and immediately, probably, to the three centuries of civil war which preceded the long peace of the Tokugawa *régime*, *i.e.* which preceded the period of isolation under the Tokugawa "Tycoons," brought to an end with the restoration of the direct Mikado rule in 1868. The two-sworded *samurai* who used to slash the British barbarians in the streets of Yedo forty years ago did not, in our eyes, cut such a noble figure as the thousands of plebeian soldiers so willing to throw their lives away at Nan-shan or Port Arthur; but the proud spirit was the same, though the labours, trials, and disappointments of half a century may have chastened and broadened that spirit into purer and less personal form. In their search for a religion and for a principle of life, the Japanese may have made historical mistakes; but the whirligig of Time has brought them their ample vindication, and more than one great European power would be proud to possess in its people half the patriotic and spiritual qualities that the Japanese in one mass are now showing.

Hence "existence" and "non-existence" (34) have a common birth; "difficult" and "easy" have a common creation; "long" and "short" have a common obviousness; "high" and "low" present a common contrast; "sound-waves" and "noise" have a common unison; "before" and "after" have a common sequence (10, 14).

Thus the highest form of man performs his functions without display of activity (37) and conveys his lessons without display of words (5).

The innumerable objects do similarly function, and this without fail (21, 34).

Birth without existence (10); doing, without showing self-consciousness; achieving results, without claiming them (9, 22).

And it is precisely that no claim being made the results do not vanish (10, 22, 33).

3. Do not show partiality for "high character" and then you will make people refrain from competing for such distinction. Place no special value upon rare possessions, and thus you will remove folk's temptation to robbery (12, 19). Do not let that which is covetable stand before the eye, and in this way the mind will not be disturbed.

Hence the administration of the highest form of man is directed to keeping the mind unpreoccupied, and to keeping the belly full (35). He takes strength from the will, and adds strength to the bones, in this way causing the people to be always ignorant of what they thus never covet; or, at any rate, causing those possessing this knowledge to shrink from any action upon it. By this policy of "not raising incidents," everything will conform to order (10, 15, 24, 29, 35).

4. Providence used with restraint need not exhibit its full force (9). It is profound; and like, as it were, the ancestral progenitor of the innumerable objects (1). It checks undue impulse, solves entanglements, subdues undue brightness, and equalises what is disagreeable. Balmy, as though preserving life (27). I do not know

whose offspring it is, but indications suggest what is anterior to any monarchs (25).

5. Heaven and earth entertain no benevolence, making the innumerable objects serve their respective purposes, just like we utilise the straw hounds in exorcising at sacrifices. In the same way the highest form of man entertains no over-tender feeling, utilising the people just like we use the same straw hounds.

We might say the space between heaven and earth will compare with a bellows; being empty, and yet not curved, needing only movement to put forth its power. So it is that the more talk we employ (2) the sooner we reach our wit's ends (23); whence it is better to hold a medium course.

6. The spirit of the valley of space never dies (15), and this is what is called the progenetrix of neutral dissolution (1), and the connection of this dissolution progenetrix (25) may be termed the root of heaven and earth. It extends into eternity like a preserver of life (4), and is inexhaustible in its uses (35).

7. Heaven is enduring, and earth is lasting. The reason why heaven and earth are capable of this is that, not having created *themselves* from any thing, they are thus able to go on existing for ever. Thus it is that the highest form of man keeps his personality in the background, and yet it asserts itself (1, 22); treats his own existence from an objective point of view, and yet preserves that existence. It is not that he possesses no individuality, but it is in this way that he is capable of developing his individuality.

8. The highest beneficence resembles water, for water is always ready to benefit the innumerable objects, yet never contests place with them (34). It is content with that low level which all men abhor, and in this respect bears some analogy to Providence, which always places itself to the best advantage, excogitates with the calmest depth, dispenses benefits with the maximum benevolence, speaks with the greatest truth, governs in the highest

spirit of order, utilises the best abilities, and moves on the most suitable occasions. In a word, making no self-assertive effort, it is never ill-advised (22).

9. It were better to drop a matter altogether than to push it to the fullest extremes (4, 29). If a point be ground down too fine, it will not wear so long. If your treasures fill the whole house, you will not be able to look after them all. A man who is supercilious about his wealth and position breeds disaster for himself. To retire your personality after your objects are gained and your reputation made (2, 8)—such is the Providence of Heaven.

10. Carry along your soul with singleness of purpose (22, 35), and see if you can be constant. Concentrate your efforts upon gentleness, and see how far you can be like an infant (28). Take disinterested and dispassionate views of things (16), and see how far you can be without blemish. Love the people and order your state so far as possible without making work (3, 35). The process of evolution opens and closes, with a certain indispensable female element (1, 20, 28). The process of intelligence develops itself with a certain indispensable element of formal science (27, 36). There is birth and there is nurture (51). There may be birth without concrete existence, just as there may be action without assertion of it, and development without direction of it (34); and this is what we may style the colourless dissolution of Grace (1).

11. Just as thirty spokes united in one hub make up the serviceability of a wheel by reason of the hollow centre; or as manipulated clay turned into a vessel becomes serviceable as such by reason of the vacuum within; just as the spaces for windows and doors left in building a house contribute to the serviceability of a dwelling by reason of what is *not* there; so in the same way what concretely exists of our personalities is "value received," which may be further realised by reason of any intangible uses to which we may spiritually put those persons.

12. The five primary colours are apt to find eyes blind to them; the five musical notes are apt to find ears deaf to them; the five flavours are each apt to be too sharp to the taste; the violent exercise of the chase on horseback is apt to produce a corresponding craziness of mind. The possession of rare objects (3) is apt to be adversely obtained. Hence the highest form of man pays more attention to what is in him than to visible things, and ignores the latter for the sake of the former.

13. Be apprehensive alike of favour and disapproval (28). Regard great evils as though they affected your own person. What do I mean by "favour and disapproval?" The one connotes the other, and you should accept favour with the apprehension that you may one time lose it. What do I mean by "regarding great evils as though they affected your own person?" The reason why we experience great evils is because we have personality. Had we no persons, what evils could we experience? Hence he who values the empire in his own person may be entrusted with the empire, and he who loves the empire in his own person may be charged with the empire (26).

14. What does not form an image to the eye (35) is characterised as [*i*, or] "unbroken planeness"; what is imperceptible to the sense of hearing is characterised as [*hi*, or] "rarification"; what is not tangible to the grasp is characterised as [*wei*, or] "abstractness" (36). As these three qualities[1] do not permit of further exploration, they may be lumped together as one whole, neither exceptionally brilliant above, nor exceptionally dull below. Ever continuous! Unsusceptible of a name (1), it resolves itself once more into a nothingness or non-objectness (16); what may be called shape without form, or aspect without image; what may be called "fleeting and illusory" (21). In advancing towards it we distinguish no head; in following after it, we distinguish no rear (2); thus do we hold on to the ancient Providence, by way of con-

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[1] This *I-hi-wei* is the "Jehovah" spectre conjured up in the imaginations of Rémusat and others.

trolling modern actuality: thus can we know the ancient beginnings, or what may be called the phases of Providence.

15. Those who filled offices (28) most creditably in ancient times possessed an inspired understanding of the [*wei*, or] abstract and the inscrutable, so profound as to be unknowable. And precisely because it was unknowable were they fain to make all possible allowances. They used the prudence of a man crossing rivers during winter, the caution of one dreading to give offence to his neighbours. They were deferential, as though dealing with unfamiliar visitors; and as compliant as ice, so to speak, which is just on the thaw. They were sound, and like as it were rough-hewn (28); broad-minded as a valley (6, 27); mixing indiscriminately with common men. It is only by leaving the muddy to settle that it gradually becomes clear of itself; and it is only by a permanent feeling of security or letting alone (3, 10, 35) that results gradually respond to stimulus applied. Those who abide by Providence of this sort have no wish to assert its full force (4, 9). In a word, there being no exercise of full force, it is possible to go on wearing it down without needing any fresh renewal of it (22, 45).

16. Aim at extreme disinterestedness (10) and maintain the utmost possible calm (26). The innumerable objects display their activities in common, and all we have to do is to watch into what they resolve themselves (14): for each of these swarming objects reverts to its original root (14, 28), and this reversion to the root signifies calm; which is renewed life; which, again, means perpetuity. To understand this perpetuity is perspicuity (10, 27, 36): not to understand perpetuity gives rise to mischief and hurt. But to understand perpetuity means tolerance (15, 21); and tolerance is public spirit. Public spirit is Rule, and Rule is Heaven. Heaven is Providence, and Providence endures, so that the disappearance of our persons does not imply any crisis to them (25, 32).

17. As to the Final Clause, those below are conscious

of its existence, and the next steps are to love it and to praise it; the next to fear it; the next to take liberties with it. Hence faith, if insufficient, is apt to become no faith at all (24). It is cautious (15) and weighs words; so when results are achieved and things evolve (9), the people all say: "We have become so of ourselves" (23, 25).

18. It is only when the highest form of Providence loses its hold on the mind that we hear of benevolence and justice; and it is only when sagacity and cleverness have begun to appear that we hear of great deceptions. It is only when the six natural social ties begin to work inharmoniously that we hear of filial piety and tenderness; and it is only when the State falls into incompetence and confusion that we hear of loyal statesmen.

19. Could we put an end to the highest grade of men, and get rid of sagacity, the people would be a hundredfold the better for it. Could we put an end to benevolence and get rid of justice, the people would revert to more primitive filial piety and tenderness. Could we put an end to artfulness and get rid of gain, robbers and thieves would vanish (3). In these three instances it is the inadequacy of our means of literary expression (32) which causes us to create ideals. We should show simplicity and abide by the unartificial: we should have fewer interests and less desire.

20. Could we put a stop to "learning," no great harm would be done. Whether we say "Just so," or "Oh, dear!" what does it matter? Whether the point is good or is bad, what great difference does it make? But what all mankind dreads, we are each of us bound to dread. A wilderness! and with no end to it! Every one comes flocking in as though taking part in the great annual fêtes, or bent upon the satisfaction of desire. I only am indifferent to all this, and feel no inducements: like an infant before he has reached boyhood (10, 28), drifting along in a purposeless manner! Other people all seem to have more than they need, and I only seem to be left out. Indeed I have the mind of a simpleton, going stolidly

along. Whilst other men are clear enough, I alone seem to be muddled; whilst other men have their wits about them, I alone am easy-going. Illusory, like the ocean; beating about, like as though without stopping. All other people have something to do, and I only feel like a mean dolt. I only am unlike other men, and I like to seek sustenance from my *mater creatrix* (1, 10, 25).

21. The tolerance (15, 16) of the fullest Grace is based solely upon Providence as a principle; but as to the entity of Providence, it is as fleeting as it is illusory (14). The images suggested by it are illusory in their fleetingness, and the objects yielded by it are just as fleeting in their illusoriness. In that dark vista of space (1) there are vital essences: those essences are unadulterated, and out of them comes truth; and its name never leaves it (1) as it unfolds the panorama of created things. And thus it is that we know of the actual existence of the created things.

22. It is by bending that we survive, by giving way that we assert. It is by lowliness that we exercise full force (4, 9), by wear and tear (15) that we go on renewing. It is by owning little that we possess much (33); by owning much that bewilderment comes. For which reasons the highest form of man is single in purpose (10) as an example to the rest of the world (28). He shines because he does not show himself off; is convincing because he does not justify himself; successful because he does not proclaim success; enduring because he does not assert himself (24). In a word, making no self-assertive effort (2, 8), no one else in the world can successfully assert against him. Thus we cannot say that the ancients[1] meant nothing by the expression "Bend and Survive." Of a truth, it is survival and reversion as well (14, 25).

23. Few words and spontaneity! (5, 25). Thus the swishing wind lasts not out the morn, nor does the pelting rain endure throughout the day. And who does

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[1] Lao-tsz' own allusion to more ancient philosophy.

this? Heaven and earth! So, even heaven and earth cannot keep up long: how much more, then, is it so in the case of man! Hence those who occupy themselves with Providence are equal in Providence so far as Providence goes; are equal in Grace so far as Grace goes; and are equal in lapses so far as lapses go. As to those equal in Providence, Providence is only too glad to have it so; as to those equal in Grace, Grace is only too glad to have it so; as to those equal in lapses, lapses are only too glad to have it so. When faith is insufficient, it is apt to become no faith at all (17)

24. Those who stand on tip-toe gain no footing: those who sprawl out their legs make no advance. Those who show themselves off do not shine (29); those who justify themselves are not convincing; those who proclaim successes do not succeed; those who assert themselves do not endure (2, 8, 22). Their position as regards Providence is like that of an over-feeder or a fussy-doer (3), which is apt to provoke men's repulsion (31). Hence those who really possess Providence do not willingly consort with such persons.

25. Things existing in a chaotic state had been produced before heaven and earth (1, 32). In solemn silence stood the solitary subjectivity, without any changes taking place; revolving without any crisis (16). We may consider this the "mother of the world" (6, 20). As we cannot know its name, we may apply to it the term "Providence," and make a shift to use the word "greatness" as its name. Now "great" suggests going on, going on suggests distance, and distance suggests return (22). Hence there are the greatness of Providence, the greatness of Heaven, the greatness of Earth, and the greatness of the Emperor (4). There are four majesties in the concrete worldly organism, of which four the Emperor is one. Man looks up to Earth for guidance, Earth to Heaven, Heaven to Providence, and Providence to Spontaneity (17, 23).

26. Just as what is weighty must be regarded as the

fundamental origin or root (6) of what is light, so is calmness the master spirit of impetuousness. For which reason the accomplished man travels throughout the day without leaving his caravan; and though there may be fine things to see, he remains serenely above them all. How, then, should an imperial autocrat "treat lightly" the empire in his own person? (13). By levity he loses his ministers' confidence; by impetuousness he compromises his princely dignity (16).

27. He who walks judiciously leaves no tell-tale footsteps behind. He who speaks judiciously leaves no taint of censoriousness behind. He who calculates judiciously needs no tallies to do it withal. He who closes judiciously can, without the use of bolts, effectually prevent an opening. He who knots judiciously, needs no strings to prevent the untying of it. For which reason the highest form of man always by preference rescues people, and therefore never abandons people; he always by preference rescues creatures (4), and therefore never abandons creatures. This is what is called persisting in clear-sighted intelligence (36). Hence the good man is the teaching model for the bad man, and the bad man is the objective upon which the good man works. He who does not value (13) his model or love (13) his material, must go far wrong, no matter how knowing he be. This is the real mysterious working of it (1).

28. Know the masculine or stronger aspect, but maintain due regard for the feminine or weaker (10, 36), in your capacity of vivifying stream irrigating the world (32); in which capacity, permanent Grace never leaving you, you will revert to infantine innocence (10). Know the whiter or more æthereal aspect, but maintain consideration for the darker or material, in your capacity of pattern (22) to the world; in which capacity, permanent Grace never failing you, you will revert to the infinite (14, 16). Know the favour or glory aspect, but maintain a due estimate of the disapproval or disgrace (13) in your capacity of broad-mind to the world (15, 32); in

which capacity, permanent Grace being sufficient, you will revert to rough-hewn simplicity (15, 32). When this simplicity has gone, the result is a manufactured article, which, as utilised by the highest form of man, takes the form of administrative officials (15). Hence the grand standard is not tampered with or mutilated.

29. When it comes to taking possession of empire and instituting active steps (3), it seems to me that here we have a case of nilly-willy (31). Empire is a spiritual engine, which does not admit of really orthodox administration, and those who try their hands at it are apt to come to grief; those who grasp at it only do so to see it slip away. Hence men must either lead or be led; be, so to speak, the inhalers or exhalers (36); either the powerful or the decrepit; the individual must support his burden or collapse (36). Thus it is that the highest form of man avoids extremes (9), avoids showiness, avoids luxury (24).

30. Those who support and counsel the rulers of mankind under the principles of Providence do not make use of military force to compel the world. Such a course is wont to bring retribution; for brambles spring out from the land which has been occupied by an army, and years of dearth are certain to follow in the wake of great battalions. Hence the beneficent man (8, 27) is satisfied with attaining his end, not venturing to proceed onwards therefrom in order to impose by force; attaining his end without self-assertion (2), attaining it without proclaiming success (24), without exhibiting arrogance; attaining his end because it is a case of nilly-willy (29); attaining it without overbearingness. For all creatures begin to age at maturity (14, 16, 28), and such action would mean "lack of Providence," lack of Providence indicating that an end is soon coming.

31. Now, glory in warfare is an inauspicious engine, and mankind are apt to show their hate of it (24); hence those who really possess the principles of Providence

will have no truck with it (24). For this reason the accomplished man in his civilian capacity takes an Eastern life-giving seat or attitude; whilst, when in charge of troops, he prefers the Western, or life-taking; warfare being an inauspicious engine, and not the engine of an accomplished man, who only makes uses of it in cases of nilly-willy (29, 30). He makes a colourless calmness (37) his chief aim, and hence has no good word for war: if he had, he would be delighting in it, and such a delight in it would be equivalent to delighting in human butchery. Now, a person who should take delight in human butchery could never make himself acceptable to the empire at large (35). The left, or east side is specially affected to auspicious matters; and the right, or west to the ill-starred. Thus it is that the general in charge of a special column takes the left position, whilst the commander-in-chief is always to the right; meaning that, as occupying the highest status, he must be particularly associated with the insignia of death and destruction. When the butchery of human beings is very heavy, we should bewail the fact with weeping and mourning; and thus, when the victor emerges from the fight, he should be associated with the insignia of death and destruction.

32. Providence is perpetual, and destitute of any name (1, 37). Though the rough-hewn man (28) may be obscure, not even the whole world is competent to subdue his spirit. If our rulers could but abide by principle, all creation (1, 25, 37) would flock to them. It is the union of heaven and earth (25) that brings down the sweet dews; and in the same way the people can adjust themselves without need for legal sanctions (37). Names were given when the first statutory sanctions appeared (19), and names thus coming into existence, it became possible to know where to stop, for through knowing where to stop we avoid a crisis (16, 25). The function of Providence in the world may be compared with the functions of streams and valleys in relation to the Great River and the Sea (28).

33. He who understands other men is sagacious, but

he who understands himself is clear-sighted (36). He who can overcome other men is strong, but he who overcomes himself is mighty. He who knows content is rich (22). It is he that persists who owns the potency of will. It is he that shows tact whose capacities endure (2, 10, 22). It is those who die without being forgotten who enjoy true old age.

34. The highest form of Providence is universal, and always at hand. The innumerable objects of creation (1, 25, 33) depend upon its unfailing action for their existence (2). It achieves results which yet cannot be named (37) as concrete being (1, 2), and cherishes the innumerable objects without disclosing the directing power (10). Hence it is ever without desire (37), nothing being too minute for it. The innumerable objects revert to it (14, 25) and yet are unconscious of its directing power, nothing being too great for it. Hence the highest form of man never magnifies himself, and is thus always great in achievement (8, 10, 15).

35. The empire will go out to him who holds fast to great symbols (10); will go out to him with a sense of security; all feeling easy in body and calm in mind, in enjoyment of hospitable music and feasting, only limited by the departure of welcome strangers (3). The savour of Providence as thus manifested is destitute of distinct taste; it is incapable of forming an image to the eye (14), and is equally imperceptible to the sense of hearing; but its effects are inexhaustible (6.)

36. If there is to be attraction, then the centrifugal idea is connoted, just as the notion of weakening inevitably involves that of strength (29), the act of deposing that of setting up; just as the intention to take possession assumes that there is *possessio*. These may be termed the abstract indications (14, 15, 27) of clear sight (33). But the soft and weak may overcome the hard and strong (28); hence the fish should not try to leave his tank, and the effective weapons of state should not be paraded before the public in whose interests they are used.

37. Providence is perpetually without active purpose (2, 32), and yet leaves nothing undone. If our rulers could but abide by principle, all creation (32) would improve its own line of conduct. Should this improving development show tendency to restless activity, I would propose to check it with that unnameable rough-hewnness (25, 28, 32, 34); and as this unnameable rough-hewnness will have no desires (34), from this absence of desire we reach calm (31); and thus the world will right itself.

DIVISION II.

(*i.e. Têh*, "Virtue," or "Grace.")

38. The highest Grace (41) makes no pose of Grace, and for this reason really is Grace; whilst the lower quality of Grace may never divest itself of Grace, and yet never feels like true Grace.

The highest Grace, avoiding action, finds no necessity to act; whilst the lower quality of Grace takes action, yet still finds it necessary to act.

The highest benevolence (18, 19) takes action, and then finds no necessity to act; the highest justice (19) takes action, yet still finds it necessary to act.

The highest form of ceremoniousness takes action, yet finds no response at all, so that one must bare the arms and go on with action (69).

Thus it is that as Providence weakens, Grace takes its place; as Grace weakens, benevolence takes its place; as benevolence weakens, justice takes it place; as justice weakens, forms and ceremonies take its place. Now, mere forms, being the degenerate phases of loyalty (18) and truth, are the first beginnings of anarchy (18, 64). Forwardnesses and smartnesses are mere ornamental excrescences of Providence, and are the commencement of imbecility (48).

For these reasons the manly fellow takes his stand on what is honest or worthy, and will have no truck with the superficial or degenerate; he takes his stand on the real, and will have no truck with the showy. Hence he ignores the latter for the sake of the former (12, 72).

39. Instances of concentration or unification of effort in the past are clearness in the case of the heavens, repose in the case of the earth, spirituality in the case of the gods, fulness (45) in the case of space (6), life in the case of created objects (34), purity in the face of the world in the case of our rulers (32, 37, 42). The oneness of purpose is identical in each instance. Unless the heavens can be clear, there is a possibility of their being rent asunder; unless the earth can be in repose, there is the possibility of its quaking; unless the gods can be spiritual, there is the possibility of their being inactive; unless the valley of space (6) can have fulness (4), there is a possibility of its being exhausted (15); unless the innumerable objects of creation can have life (21, 34), there is the possibility of their annihilation; unless our rulers can be pure and esteem loftiness, they may come to grief (32, 42).

Hence the more distinguished take their root in the mean, and the more exalted have their foundation in the lowly (77).

For which reason our rulers, in speaking of themselves, have used the terms "bereaved one," "unworthy one," "ill-endowed one" (42). This is taking their root among the mean, surely, is it not?

Hence it comes that if we carefully count up separately each piece that goes to form a cart (11), we have no cart at all. We must not go into nice questions or fine distinctions as to what is a rare gem and what a common stone in the whole body of principle (23).

40. "Return" indicates the movements of Providence (25, 65, 78), and "weakness" indicates the uses of Providence (78). Heaven, Earth, and the innumerable objects of creation derive their being from existence (1, 10, 34); and existence derives its being from non-existence.

41. The highest-minded candidates for office (15), after undergoing instruction in Providence, put it zealously into practice (53, 70); the mediocre ones, after listening to Providence, are as much dead as alive about it; the inferior ones, after listening to Providence, make great fun of it. Did they not ridicule it, it would scarcely deserve to be considered Providence. Hence, as it is put by those who expound these matters, the brilliancy of Providence comprises a certain dulness (14); the [*i* or] unbroken planeness of Providence comprises certain distinctivenesses (14); the advance of Providence (62) comprises a certain retiringness (9).

The highest Grace is like a valley (15, 28): very white, and yet comprising disgrace.[1] The broadest Grace is as though insufficient, and in establishing Grace there is a certain stealthy diffidence (15): an homogeneous body, yet in a state of flux. A perfect square is without angularities; a great machine or utensil takes long to finish; great sound-waves make [*hi* or] small noise (2, 14); a great symbol (35) has no obvious form (2). Providence is inscrutable and nameless (1, 25, 32, 34, 37). In short, Providence rejoices in endowing man (8) with the wherewithal to perfect himself.

42. Providence produced unity; unity produced duality; duality produced trinity; and trinity produced the innumerable objects (1, 2, 4, 25); the innumerable objects, carrying the feminine or shadow principle on the one side, and the masculine or sun-light principle on the other, creating a just harmony by their respective clashes of primitive impulse or ether (6, 25, 55).

The things which all men abhor (8, 24, 31) are being "bereaved," like orphans; being "unworthy" or out in the cold, like widows; and being "ill-endowed," as with the necessaries of life; yet our princely and ducal readers degree artful (19, 57), yet with an air of clownishness (20). With the highest capacity for argumentativeness (81), yet with hesitation to speak (2, 5, 17, 22). Impetuousness (26) overcomes cold, but calm (16, 57) overcomes heat. Clear (15) and calm are needed to put one right or orthodox in the eyes of the Empire (22, 28, 37, 39, 56).

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[1] I am very unwilling to suggest alterations in the text; but a reference to Par. 28 certainly leads to the belief that the ancient copyists must have omitted a phrase, and that the whole should run: "white suggests [*black, and glory suggests*] disgrace."

46. When the Empire is possessed of the principle of Providence, the pacing chargers are driven back to do tillage work; but when the Empire is destitute of such Providence, then war-horses spring up outside all our towns (31). There is no greater sin (46) than looking upon the covetable (3); there is no greater evil (69) than discontent (33, 44); there is no greater disaster (9) than acquisitiveness. Hence the enough of contentment is always enough.

47. One may know the world without ever crossing the threshold; one may discern the Providence of Heaven (9, 16, 25, 79) without ever looking out of the window. In fact, the farther abroad you go, the less you may know. For which reason the highest form of man knows without walking forth; gives names to (35) without seeing; and accomplishes without seeming to do anything (2, 3, 10, 34).

48. In learning, the object is to get on every day (20, 64). In practising Providence, the aim should be to do less and less every day (38), and to go on decreasing what we do until we arrive at complete inaction (10, 29, 47); in such wise that whilst not seeming to do anything we leave nothing undone (37). Hence those who secure Empire, generally manage it without much ado (29, 35, 57, 63); and when much ado is made about it, it will be found that those who try to secure it are unequal to the task.

49. The highest form of man has no fixed mind; he makes the mind of the people his mind (3). With the good we should show goodness; with those who are not good we should also show goodness (27), in order to grace goodness. To the truthful we should show truth; to

those who are not truthful we should also show truth, in order to grace truth (8, 21, 38, 63, 81). The highest form of man in his relation to the world (32) is apprehensive (13, 15), and allows his whole soul to go out freely to the world; whilst the people, on the other hand, have their eyes and ears incessantly hanging upon him; and the highest form of man thus regards them all as his children.

50. Like as, waxing to the full and waning to the eclipse, the waxing units numbering thirteen whole days, and the waning units numbering thirteen (76); so with man's birth until his busy career (40) ends in death, there are also thirteen phases. And why so? On account of his persistency in keeping up life (75). For I have heard that persons possessing the secret of life never encounter[1] a rhinoceros or a tiger when they walk abroad; never need to strap on sword or buckler (80) when they go to the wars. The rhinoceros cannot find in them the where to lodge his horn withal; the tiger cannot find in them the where to place his claws withal; the weapon cannot find in them the wherein to insert its point. And why so? Because for such an one there is no finding death (7).

51. Being born of Providence (25, 41), nurtured by Grace (10), shaped by mortals, and completed by circumstances, the innumerable created objects, for this very reason, without exception revere Providence and honour Grace (62). Now this revering of Providence and honouring of Grace was never a conferred distinction, but always was so spontaneously (17, 25, 64). Hence Providence bears all things, nurtures[2] them, develops them (10), and rears them; completes them, ripens them, tends them, and protects them (34). Birth without concrete existence (2, 10), action without self-conscious assertion of it (2, 10, 77), and development without

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[1] Other citations of this figure of speech suggest "never *shirk* encounter with" as being the original idea intended.

[2] One of my copies adds the word "Grace" before "nurtures," but a majority of citations leads me to expunge it, in spite of the preceding sentence.

direction of it (10, 34)—this is what is called the colourless dissolution of Grace (10, 62, 65).

52. When the world had its beginning (1, 14, 42), it was as though the world had a mother (1, 20, 25, 59). Having thus the creating genetrix, the created offspring (4) became cognizable; and this offspring being known, reverts (16) to maintain the genetrix (28); the disappearance of persons not involving any crisis (16, 25, 32, 44). If you keep your mouth closed (23, 43) and your eyes and ears half shut (9, 15, 27), you will get through life without being busy; but if you open your mouth, and further this or that interest, your life will not suffice to put you right again. To detect small indications is perspicuity (16, 36, 55). To maintain the weaker or gentler aspect means strength (10, 28, 36, 43, 76, 78). Utilise the brightness of it (4, 58), and allow the brilliancy to revert once more (14, 28), not leaving behind any injury to the body (9); this is what is called persisting in (27) perpetuity (16).

53. Let me possess knowledge in a detached frame of mind, and exercise it in the service of the highest Providence (18, 34); the sole anxiety being how to use it so: for the highest form of Providence is exceedingly [*i* or] level and undeviating (14, 41), though most men prefer short cuts. Our royal courts are very spruce, while our fields are overgrown with tares, and our granaries are very empty: we wear rich raiment, carry sharp swords, gorge ourselves with food and drink (24, 75, 77, 80), and have more wealth than we know what to do with (9, 77); this is what may be called "all dancing to the wicked piper": it is most assuredly *not* Providence.

54. Good builders do not pull up; good holders do not let go. Thus it is as with the ancestral sacrifices which for ever have been offered by our posterity. Cultivated in one's own person, such Grace is genuine (21, 41); cultivated in the family, such Grace is abundant; cultivated in the village, such Grace is permanent; cultivated in the State, such Grace is fertilising; cultivated in the Empire, such

Grace is universal. Therefore, as touches your person regard it from the personal point of view; as touches your family, regard it from the family point of view; as touches your village, regard it from the village point of view; as touches the State, regard it from the State point of view; as touches the Empire, regard it from an imperial point of view. And thus it is how I am able to know that the Empire view is such (21, 57).

55 One who is deeply permeated by Grace may be compared with newly-born infants (10, 20, 28). Venomous creepers do not sting, fierce beasts do not seize, birds of prey do not clutch them. Though their bones be soft (3) and their sinews tender, they can grasp firmly. Though they know nothing of sexual connection (61), they experience erectile dilatation, this being the ultimate determination of the essences (21) within them. They howl all day without making their throats hoarse, the result being a harmonious balance of forces (42). To know this harmony is perpetuity (16); to understand this perpetuity is perspicuity (16); to go increasing life is auspicious (16, 31). The exercise of impulse by the mind (10, 42) is potency (33). But when beings reach maturity, they begin to fall off; which means the reverse of Providence; and without Providence the end soon comes (30, 80).

56. Those who know best speak least; those who speak most are apt to know least (2, 5, 17, 23, 43, 73, 81). Keep your mouth closed, and your eyes and ears half shut (52). Check undue impulse, solve entanglements, subdue undue brightness (58), and equalise what is disagreeable (4), which is called the colourless dissolution shared in common (1). There ought not to be any undue affection (79) nor any undue repulsion. There ought not to be any question of deriving advantage (73), nor any of inflicting injury. There ought not to be any respecting of persons, nor any contemning of persons (39). And thus you become esteemed in the eyes of the Empire (22, 23, 37, 39, 62).

57. We should use orthodox (45, 57) measures in administering (3, 8, 59, 64) the Empire (10, 60, 65), just as we may use exceptional or surprise measures in manœuvring troops (31, 69); and possession of Empire should be obtained with as little ado as possible (29, 48). Thus it is that I know (21, 54) that this is so. The more artificial prohibitions there are in the Empire, the poorer are the people. The more weapons of power (36) are entrusted to the people, the more blundering is the government likely to be (18). The more cunning arts the people learn, the greater the flood of strange objects of luxury (15). The more legal enactments there are, the more thieves and robbers will abound (19). Hence the highest form of man says (78): So long as I am inactive (2, 3, 10, 38, 43, 48), the people will improve their own line of conduct (37); so long as I love calm (16), the people will right themselves (37); so long as I make no ado with them (48), the people will get rich by themselves (33); so long as I am without desire (34, 37), the people will be simple of their own accord (15, 19, 28, 32, 37).

58. If the administration be easy-going (20), the people will be unsophisticated; if the administration exercise its wits inquisitorially (20), the people will be lacking or imperfect (45). Evil or disaster, forsooth, may be promptly succeeded by attendant happiness; just as happiness, forsooth, may have evil lurking behind it. Who can know when the turning point will come? Surely but there is no stopping to it! (20). The regular becomes once more the exceptional (57). The good becomes once more the hurtful (20). In fact, the people have been going astray or wrong (27) for a very, very long time. For this reason the highest form of man is like a square which is not to be chipped (28, 41); pure without a flaw; straightforward (45) without abuse; bright but not dazzling (4, 52, 56).

59. In managing men as in serving Heaven, there is nothing like economising forces (67). Now, this economy is what may be termed early self-subjection, and early sub-

jection means a heavy accumulation of Grace; with a heavy accumulation of Grace, there is nothing but what can be conquered; and when there is nothing but what can be conquered (63), then no one can know where the end will be; when no one knows where the end will be, it is possible to possess the State power (29, 78); and there being thus the genetrix of State power (52), there is a likelihood of its enduring (7, 44). This is called deepening the roots and strengthening the stem, being that Providence which is enduring and everlasting (7, 44).

60. Administering a great state (57) is like cooking a mess of fish. If you approach the empire armed with Providence, the devils will no longer possess spiritual powers; not that the devils will not actually possess such powers, but with them they will be unable to injure men; not, again, that they themselves will do no harm to men; but even the highest form of man will do no injury to men. Now, as neither side does an injury to man, therefore Grace falls in reversion to both the spiritual and human aspect of man (52).

61. Great states should allow favour to flow down on those below (8). The world's intercourse is practically the world's female (6, 55). The female usually by quiescence (15, 16, 26, 37) overcomes the male (78), and quiescence or calmness represents the inferior or below (43). Hence, when a great state is conciliatory or deferential to a small state, it ends by taking the small state; whilst, on the other hand, when the small state is humble and respectful to the great state, it "captures" the great state. Hence whether by lowliness you are taken, or by lowliness you take, in the case of the great state it only wishes to annex and nurture individuals (10, 51) whilst in the case of a small state it only wishes to take part in serving (59) individuals. In either case the desired object is gained. Hence the great should be lowly.

62. "Providence" is the esoteric principle[1] of the

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[1] The word *ao* is practically the same in meaning as the word *wei* (14), which, indeed, is actually used to explain what *ao* means; more-

innumerable created objects (14), the jewel of the good man (27, 67, 69), the stand-by of the bad man (27). Nice words (81) will always find a market, and noble deeds will never come amiss to folk. How is it possible to abandon people (27) because of their want of goodness? Hence, in setting up an Emperor, or in appointing the three chief Ministers, although it may be glorious for them to sit in a state chariot, preceded by jewelled sceptre bearers, it were better for them to remain at home and advance their store of Providence (41). Why was it that the ancients honoured (51) this Providence so highly? Was it not that they looked for answers to their prayers and hoped for remission of their sins? (46). For this reason was it esteemed throughout the world (56).

63. Act with the least possible dwelling on action (2, 57, etc.); employ means with the least possible ado (48, 57, etc.); taste with the least possible dwelling on the savour (12, 35). Make the big as little, make the many as few as possible (4). Requite enmity (75) with Grace. Overcome difficulty when there is least resistance (9). Achieve maximum results by minimum means (31). All the difficult things in the world are evolved out of easy individual items, and all the great things in the world are evolved from petty individual items. Hence the highest form of man never unduly magnifies, and is thus able to achieve results of magnitude (34). Now, he who lightly consents is sure to be little trustworthy (26, 81): he who regards most things as easy will find the most difficulties (69). For which reason the highest form of man always inclines to see possible difficulties (73), and thus in the end finds no difficulty (13).

64. It is easy enough to maintain peace when you already have it. It is easy enough to form effective

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over, the words *hüan-ao* and *hüan-wei* are both used to express the same "colourless-abstruseness" which is so difficult to translate, and which eludes every effort of the mind to grasp or realise: it seems to be the "Absolute" or "Void" of our Western philosophers, who probably scarcely understand themselves what they mean.

schemes (73) before trouble or inducement arises (20). It is easy enough to break what is already brittle. It is easy enough to disperse what are already [*wei* or] insignificant indications (14, 36). Take action before a matter becomes concrete being (1, 14). Keep order before confusion (18, 38) arises. A tree you can scarcely clasp with your arms (76) originated with a slip or seed. The nine-storeyed tower[1] begins with a pile of earth. The thousand-furlong journey commences with the first footstep. Those who try their hands at action are apt to come to grief; those who grasp at a thing are apt to see it slip away (29). But the highest form of man, by not making work (2, 63, etc.), escapes coming to grief; and by not grasping at a thing, does not see it slip away (8). The way most people go about a piece of business is usually to ruin it when just on the point of completion. Be as careful at the end as at the beginning, and then you will not spoil a piece of business. For which reason the highest form of man desires that which others do not desire (8, 37), and places no value upon rare possessions (3, 12); he makes a study of what others do not study[2] (20, 48), and goes back to that (14, 16, 19, 28, 52, 80) which the generality of people pass by, in order to encourage the principle of spontaneity (17, 23, 25, 51) in all created objects, and their hesitation to do anything which need not be done (3).

65. Those who in ancient times were good hands at Providence did not use it to educate the people (36, 57); they used it to befool them (38). The reason why the people are so hard to govern (75) is that they are apt to know too much (18, 27, 33, 36); and therefore a man who governs his state on "knowing" or sagacity principles (19)

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[1] This cannot reasonably be supposed to have anything to do with Buddhist pagodas, which always have an odd number of stages. The "Sublime Porte," or gate of the royal palaces, was known as the 'Nine Storey" many centuries before Buddhism was heard of in China.

[2] The philosopher Chwang-tsz develops this idea in rather a more complicated sense.

is a traitor to the state, whilst one who is not "knowing" in his government of the state is a blessing to the state. He who understands these two points may take them for his model, and the fact of understanding such a model (22, 28) is what is called the colourless dissolution of Grace (10, 51). This colourless Grace extends deep and far[1] indeed (25), re-acting upon created objects (40), until at last it attains to perfect accord (55).

66. The reason why the Great River and the Sea are able to rule over the countless streams (28, 32, 78) is that the former are good at placing themselves in a low place of receptivity as compared with the latter (7, 8, 68, 76); hence they are able to act as the ruling impulse to the countless streams. For this reason the highest form of man, when he wishes to place himself above the people, must in his language place himself below them (22, 76); if he wishes to take precedence of the people, he must keep his personality in their background (7, 9). For which reason the people make no objection (80) when the highest form of man is in occupation of the superior position; the people suffer no injury[2] (35) when he occupies a front position. And then the Empire is delighted to acclaim

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[1] China's first great historian Sz-ma Ts'ien (B.C. 100), who frequently quotes whole sentences of the Canon, in discussing the comparative merits of Lao-tsz and his imitators Chwang-tsz, Han Fei-tsz, and Shên Puh-hai, says:—"They all draw their inspiration from the idea of Providence and Grace (*tao-têh*), but Lao-tsz goes deepest and farthest;" and, again: "I have found Han Fei-tsz particularly difficult to understand."

[2] *Puh-hai*, or "no injury," or "sense of security," is the name of the philosopher Shên-tsz, mentioned in the last note: he is the Chinese Draco, and died B.C. 337—a further proof of the genuine antiquity of Lao-tsz' book. In same way the *Pao-p'uh*, or "show simplicity," of Par. 19 gives the name to the later *Tao*ist philosopher *Pao-p'uh-tsz*, of the fourth century; and *Kwan-yin-tsz*, or "Pass official," gives the literary name to Lao-tsz' friend for whom he wrote the work I now translate. The fact that the private name of the *Tao*ist philosopher Lieh-tsz (Licius) is taken from an expression in the "Book of Changes" (Yü-k'ou) only increases the general evidence in favour of the all-round genuineness and continuity of *Tao*ist history.

him, and does not get weary of him (72), the reason being that, making no self-assertive effort (3, 8, 68, 73, 81), no one else in the world can successfully assert against him (22).

67. The world all mistakenly says I am great with the appearance of not being equal to what I preach. Now, it is precisely on account of the grandeur of my subject that I appear unequal to it. If I appeared equal to it, I should be remaining small for a very long time indeed. But at least I can possess three of its gems, value them, and hold on to them: to wit, tenderness (18, 19); to wit, thriftiness (59); to wit, an objection to placing myself in front of the rest of the world (3, 7, 66); through being tender-hearted one is able to display bravery (73); through being thrifty one is able to display profusion; through hesitation to stand in front of the rest of the world one is able to qualify as administrative instrument (15, 28). No! The kind of bravery which is without tenderness (31), the profusion which is without thriftiness, the forwardness which is without retiringness—these will land you at death's door. But with tenderness you conquer in the attack (68), and are all the firmer in the defence; for Heaven will come to your rescue (27), and with the same tenderness protect you (69).

68. Those who serve as officers most creditably (15) are never blustering; those who are the best hands at fighting never lose their tempers; those who are best at gaining victory never strive (73) in emulation; those who are best at utilising other men yield place to them. This is called the Grace which doth not strive (8); this is called the capacity for utilising mankind (33); this is called being on a par with Heaven—the highest ideal of all time (9, 16).

69. It has been said by military strategists:—"Better be the visitor than the visited;" and again:—"Better retire a foot than advance an inch" (57). This is called action without acting (38), baring without the arms (38), going on (38) without the enemy, grasping without the

weapons. There is no greater evil (46) than despising an enemy, for in despising the enemy you risk losing one of my gems (67). Hence when it comes to the hand-to-hand fight, it is the compassionate or bewailing man who conquers (31, 67, 76).

70. What I say is very easy to understand, and very easy to do; but the world is incapable of understanding it and incapable of doing it (20, 67, 78). The words have a progenitor (4), as the affairs instanced have a master-spirit (26); but, as general ignorance prevails (3), of course I myself am not understood. Those who understand me being so [*hi* or] few (14), it thus redounds to my honour. For these reasons, the highest form of man is content with a rugged exterior and the knowledge of his own hidden value (3, 12, 72).

71. To know that you cannot know much is best, but to imagine you know the unknowable is disastrous. Now if you shrink from what is disastrous you will not incur disaster (44). The highest form of man does not incur this form of disaster, because he shrinks from the disastrous (73), and for this reason does not incur such disaster (3, 8, 9, 13, 22).

72. The people have no fear of the ordinary terrors of the law (24), the supreme question of life and death being ever before them. Therefore do not confine their scope within too narrow bounds (80); do not make their lives too weary (66). If you do not weary them in this way, then they will not weary of you. For which reason the highest form of man knows what is in him (7, 8, 33, 70), but does not show himself off (22, 24, 77); respects himself, but does not place a value on himself (13, 22, 24). Hence he ignores the latter for the sake of the former in each case (12, 38).

73. He who is eager in running risks gets killed, he who is eager in not running risks survives (71). Of these two aims (67) the one is as advantageous as the other is disadvantageous, yet both may be equally abhorred of Heaven (31). Who knows the why? And thus it is

that even the highest form of man finds it hard to choose between them (63). The Providence of Heaven (9, 47, 79) never strives either way, yet is best at gaining victory (68); without words (56, etc.), is best at securing response (38); without summons, is best at attracting comers (10, 35); without flurry, is best at forming effective schemes (64). The net of Heaven is spread far indeed; though its meshes be large, it allows none to slip away (34, 37).

74. As the people do not fear threats of death (72, 75), so what is the use, then, in trying to frighten them with it? If it were possible to keep the people in continual fear of dying and of becoming ghosts, we might find our account in arresting and killing them. But who would dare? (31). There are always proper judicial officers charged with executions (29, 32), and for us to undertake executions on behalf of the executioners would be like our hacking on behalf of the carpenter. Now, if we took to hacking on behalf of the carpenter, there are [*hi* or] few (14) of us but would maim our hands (29).

75. The people are hungry on account of the amount of taxation consumed by their superiors; that is why they hunger (24, 53). The people are difficult to govern on account of the meddlesomeness of those above them; that is why they are difficult to govern (65). The people despise death (74) because they are so desperately anxious to obtain a livelihood; that is why they despise death. It is those who place no value on their own lives (16, 52) who are the most high-minded (3, 77) in the matter of their own and others' lives.

76. Man at his birth is soft and tender (55); at his death he has become hard and strong (30). Created objects and vegetation at their birth are tender and crisp; at their death they are like wilt and hollowed poles. Hence the firm and strong belong to the category of the waning or dead; the soft and tender belong to the category of the waxing or living (50). For which reason a powerful army is not necessarily a conquering one (30, 31, 67), and a powerful tree bends over with its own weight. Thus

the powerful and great may occupy the lower (66), the soft and tender the higher position (36, 78).

77. Is not Heaven's Providence (9, 47, 73, 79) rather like drawing a bow? If too high, we lower it; if too low, we elevate it. If it is too much, we reduce it (42); if not enough, add to it. The Providence of Heaven is to take from abundance (20), to make up what is not enough. The Providence of Man is not so: there is taken from those who have not enough to supply the wants of (24, 53) those who have superfluity. Who is capable of possessing abundance sufficient to supply the wants of the whole world? Only those who really possess Providence (24, 31, 46). For which reason the highest form of man takes action without self-conscious assertion (2, 51), and achieves results (2, 9, 22, 34) without boasting. How unwilling he is to show off his "high character"! (3, 75).

78. Of the soft and tender things in the world nothing is more so than water (8, 76), but for attacking the firm and strong (76) nothing can surpass it: nothing will serve as a substitute for it. How the weak may thus overcome the strong, and how the soft may thus overcome the hard (36), every one in the world knows, but no one is able to do it himself (70). Hence, as the highest forms of man have said[1] (57): "He who takes upon himself the dirt of the State may be styled the lord of its tutelary gods, whilst he who takes upon himself the inauspiciousness of the State, is styled the King or Emperor of the State" (57, 77): true words which seem to return (40, 65)!

79. Though great enmities may be appeased (63), there is bound to remain some vestige of ill-feeling. How

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[1] As one instance out of many hundred, showing how Lao-tsz derived his ideas from extremely ancient books, or from books which equally inspired Confucius, I may quote the following, taken respectively from the "Book of History" (*ends* with B.C. 721), and from the Amplification by his pupil of Confucius' own History (*begins* with B.C. 784): "The Son of Heaven acts as the people's father and mother, and as such is the King [or Emperor] of the World [or Empire]." And again: "That the Prince of a State should hold dirt in his mouth is the Providence of Heaven."

is it possible to be on perfectly good terms again? Thus it is that the highest form of man keeps a loyal hold upon his agreements, but makes no exacting claim; he who possesses Grace takes cognizance of the spirit of the agreement; he who possesses no Grace takes cognizance only of the tithes due. The Providence of Heaven (77, etc.) has no personal preferences (56), and is always on the side of the good man (49, 67).

80. My ideal is a series of small states with small populations. Let them possess an army machine (29, 31, 36, 41, 57, 67) of moderate size, but not be too ready to use it (31, 67, 70). Let them place a proper value on their lives (75), and refrain from distant migrations. Then, though they will be possessed of boats and carts, there will be no one to ride in them; though they will be possessed of arms and cuirasses, there will be no need for arraying them. Let the people revert to the old *quipo* system of records (3, 37), enjoy their food, take a pride in their clothes, dwell in peace, and rejoice in their local customs (72). Each state would be within easy sight of the other; the sound of each other's hens cackling and dogs barking would be heard across. The people of each state would live to a good old age, and would have no movement of intercourse with neighbouring states.

81. True words are apt to be not liked; pleasant words are apt to be untrue (62). Good or beneficent men (30) do not wrangle, and wranglers are apt not to be good men (5, 23, 45). Those who know best do not range over many subjects, and those who range most widely do not know best (56). The highest form of man cares not to accumulate (3, 77): so far as he uses his resources for others, he increases his own store; so far as he gives them to others (8), he has the more for himself. The Providence of Heaven (9, 79, etc.) benefits and does not injure (27, 67); the Providence of the highest form of man takes action without self-assertive effort (3, 8, 68, 73, etc).

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